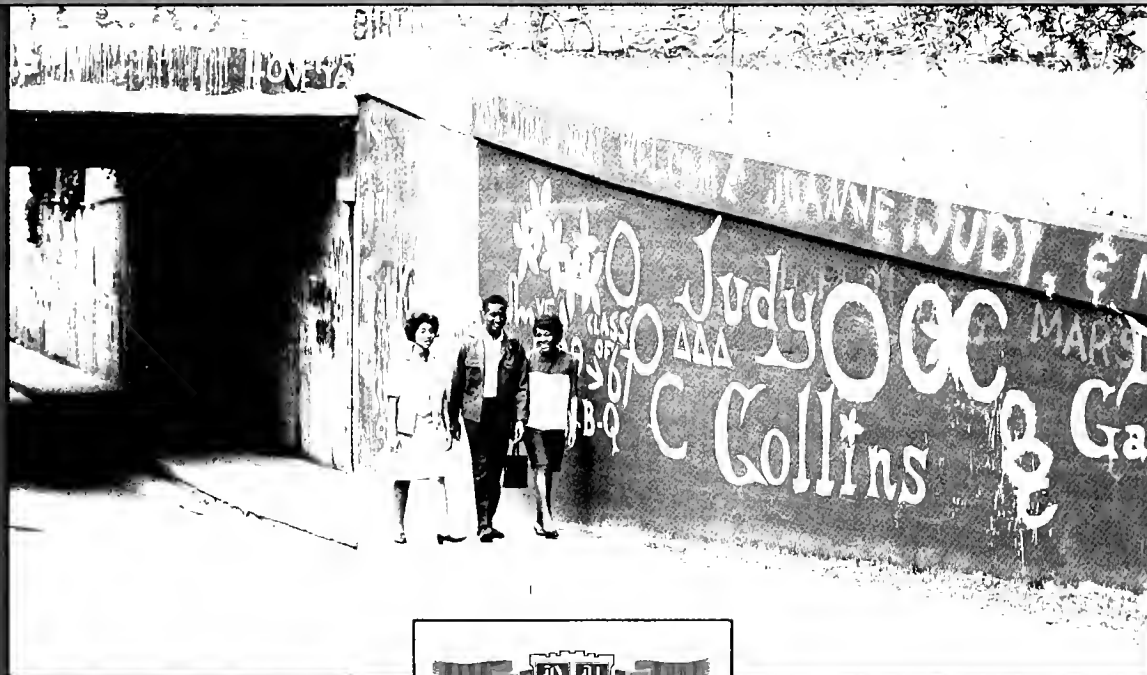


LEGACY, 1963-1993

Thirty Years of African American Students at Duke University



*Duke University
Office of the University Vice President & Vice Provost*

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**Legacy,
1963–1993**

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All photographs and documents associated with the history of Duke University are from the Duke University Archives. All of the staff generously gave time and assistance to make this book as accurate as possible. Any errors that may exist should be attributed to us and not to them.

The section "The First Five Undergraduates" was written by Bridget Booher and was first published in the September–October, 1992 issue of the *Duke Magazine*.

Research and compilation of manuscript by Tracy Ainsworth and Gail A. Williams

Copyediting, cover and text design, desktop publishing, and print production by
Neylân G. Allebaugh

The African ornaments used throughout the book were designed by Michelle Dixon of Santa Barbara, California. They are derived from the art of the Ashanti, Masai, Zulu, Bushongo, and many other tribes.

The data for the two appendixes was produced, cheerfully and in just the right format, by George Smith of Alumni Development Office and Judy Pope of University Development Office. Many thanks for their able assistance.

Front cover illustrations:

The first three graduates—Wilhelmina Reuben-Cooke, Nathaniel White, Jr., and
Mary Mitchell Harris
Thirtieth Anniversary logo, designed by Gail A. Williams

Back cover illustrations, from top left, clockwise:

The banner on the door, Allen Building Takeover, February 13, 1969

The statue of James B. Duke, with "Support the Vigil" sign in hand, Silent Vigil,
April 5–11, 1968

Students marching to the president's house, Silent Vigil

Meeting outside Allen Building in teargas cloud, Allen Building Takeover

**Legacy,
1963–1993:
Thirty Years of
African-American
Students at
Duke University**

Published by Duke University, Office of the University Vice President & Vice Provost, 1995



*This book is dedicated to
the life and work
of Julian Francis Abele,
the architect of the Duke
campus, whose black identity
became widely known only as
recently as in 1988.*

*Julian Francis Abele
1881–1950*

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Anyone who has published a book knows that it is a collaborative enterprise. Certainly a book such as this one has benefited greatly from the cooperation, assistance, wisdom, and generosity of many people.

It is not possible to name all of the people who have contributed, in one way or another, to the work that has gone into this book.

I would like to mention several people whose vision and support made the book possible. Credit for the idea of a commemorative event in recognition of the first thirty years of black students at Duke grew out of a conversation I had with Professor Jerome Culp of Duke University Law School at the ACC tournament in the spring of 1992.

President H. Keith H. Brodie enthusiastically supported the idea and appointed the planning committee that I chaired.

Those persons who have made special contributions to this book have been mentioned elsewhere in the book. I would like to make note here of the invaluable help and support received from Mr. Laney Funderburk, associate vice president and director of alumni affairs, Mr. John Burness, senior vice president for public affairs, Mr. William King, the archivist for Duke University, and Professor Emeritus Jack J. Preiss for the much-needed thoughtful review and feedback on the manuscript for this book.

The contributions of Dr. Brenda Armstrong and the day-to-day attention to this project by my executive assistant Michael L. Hunt were indispensable to the successful completion of this project.

—Leonard C. Beckum

CONTENTS

Foreword / John Hope Franklin	1
Introduction / Leonard C. Beckum	3
A Letter from the President / Nannerl O. Keohane	5
Thirtieth Anniversary Committee Statement	6
Comments on the Thirtieth Year Commemoration	7
I HISTORY OF INTEGRATION	
A Timeline of Key Events	13
A Brief History of Duke University	18
A Look to the Past / Jack J. Preiss	19
Policy Changes	21
The First Five Undergraduates	31
Student Activism	37
2 THIRTIETH ANNIVERSARY COMMEMORATIVE EVENTS	
List of Events	49
Welcoming Reception	51
Thirtieth Anniversary House Course, "Race and Education"	52
House-Course Speaker Series	54
3 PROFILES OF A FEW ALUMNI, FACULTY, & ADMINISTRATORS	59
Brenda Armstrong / Leonard C. Beckum	
Benjamin Franklin Chavis, Jr. / Kenneth Chestnut / Samuel	
Dubois Cook / Philip R. Cousin, Sr. / Maureen Cullins	
Johnny Dawkins / Janet Smith Dickerson	
William C. Turner	
4 WHERE WE ARE NOW	
Institutional Policies	71
African-American Student Life	73
Black Faculty Initiative Update	75
Afterword	77
Appendix A: List of All Blacks Who Received Undergraduate Degrees at Duke	79
Appendix B: List of All Blacks Who Received Graduate Degrees at Duke	92

Thirtieth Anniversary Committee

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Julius L. Chambers, Chancellor, North Carolina Central University
Samuel DuBois Cook, President, Dillard University; Trustee, Duke University
Johnny Dawkins, '86, Philadelphia 76ers Basketball Team
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Benjamin Ruffin, Vice President for Corporate Affairs, R. J. Reynolds/Nabisco Corporation
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Gail A. Williams, Career Specialist, Career Development Center
Janice G. Williams, '72, School Social Worker, Durham Public Schools

*All titles and affiliations are listed as of July 1993.

Foreword

JOHN HOPE FRANKLIN

James B. Duke Professor Emeritus of History

In the long sweep of human history, Duke University is a mere fledgling institution, even if one takes into consideration its predecessor, Trinity College. The presence of African Americans as matriculants dates back only thirty years, a mere yesterday. But it was a "yesterday" long in the making. More than a half century ago, when I was teaching at what is now North Carolina Central University and was a frequent user of the Duke University Library, Dr. Nannie Tilley or one of her assistants would regularly call to inform me of any changes in the hours of the library due to holidays or university vacations. This was to me a "good sign" that Duke could, even would, make the transition from exclusion to inclusion.

The forces that brought about racial inclusion were legal, political, and economic—among others. When the United States Supreme Court outlawed segregation in the public schools in *Brown v. Board of Education* and in higher education in *Sweatt v. Painter* and other landmark cases, the doors of all schools were opened, if only to a small degree. When African Americans and others who believed in equal opportunity began to urge elected officials at every level to open the doors of public colleges and universities, they made it clear that they would support their views at the ballot box. When it became clear that at least some white students were not so much interested in race as in academic qualifications and human qualities, admission policies at Duke and other all-white colleges and universities became more amenable to the principle of racial inclusion. When various economic dispensations opened the university to less-privileged students, the arguments against the admission of African Americans were significantly weak-



ened. At some point along the way, the more serious academics at Duke and elsewhere began to realize that the exclusion of African Americans solely on the basis of race was not only specious and anti-intellectual but contrary to the very principles on which the university was founded.

In the three decades that African Americans have been a part of the life of Duke University as students, professors, and officers, this educational enterprise has moved closer to the true mission of any institution of its kind. It no longer needs to expend its energy denying the obvious and supporting untenable positions that fly in the face of truth and reason. In 1965, when I was riding the bus one Sunday morning from Durham to Greensboro, a white mother, father, and their two small children boarded the bus at a rural stop. The children immediately ran to the back of the bus and climbed on to the broad back seat and were obviously delighted to watch the receding landscape as the bus moved forward. I remarked to myself that at last those children as well as their parents were free to sit where they pleased. The Civil Rights Act of the previous year had not only made it possible for blacks to sit anywhere, but removed the constraints from whites as well.

When Matthew A. Zimmerman, Jr., was one of the first two African-American students admitted to Duke University, he was part of the liberation of Duke University that the faculty and trustees had initiated two years earlier. He made legitimate the presence of African Americans on Duke campus that Julian Abele had begun when he designed the West campus a generation earlier. The process begun on those occasions has continued so that now on the thirtieth anniversary of that liberation, Duke University is as free as were those two children who climbed on the back seat of the bus back in 1965.

Introduction

LEONARD C. BECKUM

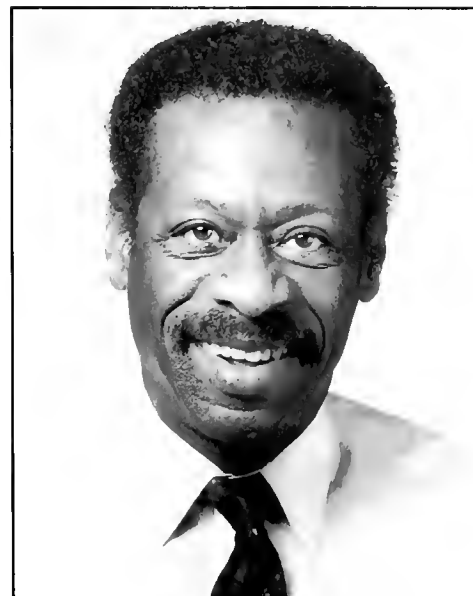
*University Vice President & Vice Provost
Chair, Thirtieth Anniversary Committee*

On behalf of the Thirtieth Anniversary Committee, I welcome you to our commemoration of thirty years of African-American students at Duke University. These pages are filled with the accomplishments of African-American students who have contributed to the university's national reputation for academic and athletic excellence, public service, and personal achievement. African-American alumni who challenged the institution to confront the issues of racial justice have extended their leadership into law, politics, medicine, education, and other fields.

We raise these individuals as shining emblems of African-American excellence at Duke, but we also recognize the greater importance of the collective spirit. The Silent Vigil, the Allen Building Takeover, and the creation of a Black Student Alliance demonstrate the importance of group unity and solidarity. In many ways, the history of African-American students at Duke has mirrored the history of African Americans in society at large.

This institution's record and its response to the struggles for integration and inclusion also gives us moments of pride, such as when we read Booker T. Washington's statement in his classic autobiography, *Up from Slavery*, that Trinity College was the first white institution in the South to invite him to speak on campus, or when we recall the fact that the students of the Divinity School petitioned for the admission of Negroes to the university as early as in the 1940s.

Throughout 1993, we hosted a wide range of events designed to promote exploration of issues important to African Americans. We have celebrated the talents of



African-American academics, artists, musicians, poets, and performers. We have created an academic context for the discussion of race by developing a house course for undergraduates. We have brought prominent speakers to campus to educate, inspire, and challenge both the Duke community and the larger community. Let us look upon the thirtieth anniversary not merely as a self-congratulatory event, but as an opportunity to pause—to evaluate the successes and accomplishments of the past, and to envision the future.

This publication is our attempt to provide a historical record of the Thirtieth Anniversary Commemoration and to begin to give voice to a story which demands to be told, the history of African-American students at Duke University. We have tried to be as thorough as possible in our research and presentation but acknowledge that much has been left out. The history of African Americans at Duke is far too rich in accomplishments, contributions, and struggles to be included in this small booklet.

The work of administrators such as Deryl Hart, Barnes Woodhall, Tommy Langford, and Taylor Cole, as well as that of professors such as Peter Klopfer, Fred Herzog, Waldo Beach, and Harmon Smith contributed to significant steps taken by this university toward integration. The fact that their numerous efforts go unmentioned in this book should in no way suggest a slighting of their spirit or work, but rather should illustrate the limitations of a project such as this one.

We hope one day to undertake a project of much larger scope, one that will allow for a more comprehensive analysis of African-American participation at Duke. This commemorative summary of the first thirty years in which students have been at Duke does not address the history and struggles of the employees whose presence at Duke predates the admittance of the first black students and continues to have its own story.

A Letter from the President

NANNERL O. KEOHANE

It is good to have the opportunity to share in the commemoration of the first African-American students at Duke University, and in the celebration of their achievements.

The call for civil rights in the early sixties presented a clear challenge to the university's traditional mores, and an even clearer appeal to the fundamental principles of truth and service on which the university was founded. In taking up that challenge and acknowledging the strength of that appeal, we became a stronger institution, better prepared for a position of leadership in the region, the country, and the world. When the decision was made to welcome African-American students, the university began to remove the academic, social, and cultural barriers to success for these students at Duke. As a result of this deliberate transformation, the university became more intellectually vibrant, culturally diverse, and socially conscious.

From the Hope Valley Protest and the Allen Building Takeover to the Black Faculty Initiative, the history of African Americans on the Duke campus has been punctuated by reminders that the struggle for justice is far from complete. These events were a stimulus for many of the university's most difficult, yet most necessary, changes.

In saluting the first thirty years of African-American students at Duke University, we are challenged to build upon a legacy of remarkable achievement. We celebrate the triumph of those first students, many of whom remain active, proud contributors to university life. Their sacrifices, their accomplishments, their example of endurance, productivity, and allegiance to Duke, are priceless gifts to this university.



As President, I join with everyone in the Duke community in commemorating the history launched by these pioneers, and accept the responsibility for continuing their work. Together we can ensure that Duke University will be a place where future generations of African Americans, and indeed all students, will enjoy a rich, diverse, and challenging educational experience.

Thirtieth Anniversary Committee Statement

In 1992, then-President H. Keith H. Brodie charged a university committee to commemorate the thirtieth anniversary of African-American students at Duke. One of the first tasks of this committee was to write a mission statement.

THIRTY YEARS OF AFRICAN-AMERICAN STUDENTS AT DUKE UNIVERSITY

The Board of Trustees of Duke University made the momentous decision to open its doors to the first African-American graduate students in 1961 and to undergraduate students in 1962, perhaps without knowing the far-reaching impact that this decision would have in shaping the history of the university. These decisions, in keeping with Duke's vision to provide the best academic preparation for the leaders of the future, acknowledged the changing fabric of the cadre of leaders who would take Duke and our world to the threshold of greatness. In opening its doors to African Americans, Duke accepted its role as a leader in the South as well as in the nation in forging an agenda for the pursuit of academic excellence, the fostering of social awareness, and the promotion of diversity in a multicultural society.

The integration of the university has been no easier than that of society in general. The entrance of African-American students at Duke tested and shaped Duke's character in all aspects of university life—academics, student affairs, cultural diversity, political consciousness. The trustees' decision to open Duke's doors to all students regardless of race created an environment that confronts the formidable challenge of appropriate incorporation of diversity in all aspects of university life. Through thirty years of increasing numbers of African-American students, Duke has moved toward a university ethic that accepts the challenge of bringing together students from multiple cultural backgrounds and experiences for further education and ad-

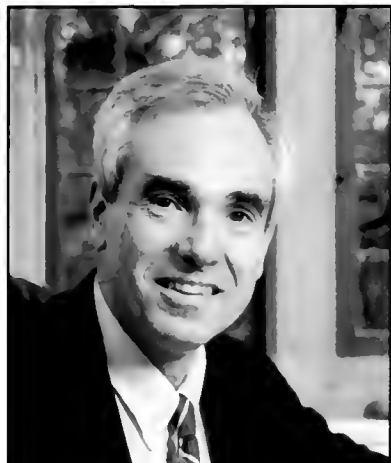
vancement of knowledge. Duke has accepted the mandate to prepare its students to live and work in a world where the contributions of African Americans and other peoples of color are acknowledged and celebrated.

We begin a yearlong commemoration of the thirty years of African-American students at Duke University. In so doing, we will celebrate the significant achievements of African-American students, faculty, and employees and their contributions to this university. We will address the continuing challenges that face Duke and other major institutions as they struggle to put into practice the conceptual ideal of diversity. We will provide for the university a lasting documentation of the history of African Americans at Duke and their accomplishments that enhanced Duke's unique contributions to social and economic progress. We will provide numerous opportunities for all members of the university community to come together to celebrate the significant achievements of the first thirty years of black students in all aspects of university life. We will reflect upon our struggles both past and present, honor those who made substantial sacrifices to insure that Duke will continue to be an open institution where diverse voices and expressions will be tolerated and encouraged. We will consider the challenges that the incorporation of African-American students and other students of color present to us as we face Duke's next century.

The first African-American students at Duke have provided us an enduring legacy of achievement through struggle and challenge. Their legacy of pride will stay with us as a blueprint for generations to come.

Comments on the Thirtieth Year Commemoration

H. KEITH H. BRODIE, M.D.
President of Duke University, 1985–95
James B. Duke Professor of Psychiatry



In 1993, for the first time, Duke University officially commemorated the historic decision of our trustees to open this academic community to all applicants regardless of race, creed, or national origin. In the fall of 1961 the first African-American students admitted for graduate and professional education at Duke were welcomed to campus, and in the fall of 1963, our

first African-American undergraduates arrived.

The special events scheduled throughout calendar year 1993 have served to remind us that these important steps toward removing the barriers that have hindered persons of color in our society for generations were taken at Duke only a generation ago. When I asked Dr. Leonard Beckum to chair the Thirtieth Anniversary Committee, it was with the hope that we might all take a lesson from the too-short history of African-American students at Duke, a lesson that social justice even in our own community can never be taken for granted. I believe that Dr. Beckum and the committee have succeeded in doing more—in highlighting for

us how our university and our nation are enriched and expanded by African Americans in every area of endeavor.

MARY DUKE BIDDLE TRENT SEMANS
Chairman, Duke Endowment; Trustee Emerita

The thirtieth anniversary of African-American students at Duke is indeed a date to celebrate. Our mood must be one of “dancing in the streets.” Duke took a required step on the way to becoming a world-class institution, and integration made the university “whole.” I firmly believe that the founding family would be pleased.

LANEY M. FUNDERBURK, JR.
*Associate Vice President, Department of
Alumni Affairs and Development*

The activities and publicity surrounding the thirtieth anniversary of the admission of African-American undergraduate students to Duke University in 1963 provided a wonderful outreach to African-American alumni. The Reggie Howard Scholarship Dinner was my particular assignment and I was pleased with the positive response to the dinner and to the appeal for funds to support the Howard Scholarship. The African-American alumni who attended the Howard Dinner and met the Howard family and Duke’s senior administrative leadership were very impressed with the university’s commitment to them and to the program. Other campus events planned by the committee recognized African-American alumni and their achievements and invited alumni to campus to celebrate their rela-

tionship with Duke University. I believe this was the most important outreach to African-American alumni during my twelve-year tenure as director of alumni affairs, and the most meaningful.

MAUREEN D. CULLINS, '76
Assistant Vice President & Dean

It was a special honor to work with the committee that planned the commemoration of thirty years of African-American students at Duke University. This past year's events have brought into sharp relief the many changes that have taken place for students of color and those things that have yet to change. Duke was and continues to be a challenge to those of us who appreciate the university's potential for sincerely engaging the issues of race and race relations. As an alumna of the class of 1976, I have seen the university from both the perspective of an undergraduate student and that of an administrator. The confluence of these perspectives gives me confidence in the university's continued commitment to enhancing the educational experiences for all students. It is my hope that the university will continue the dialogue begun by the commemorative anniversary events and continue Duke's tradition of excellence.

Thanks for the opportunity to comment on what I thought was a great piece of work.

LISA BORDERS-MARBURY, '79, *President, DUBAC*
JANICE G. WILLIAMS, '72, *DUBAC Planning Committee*

The thirtieth anniversary was a historical and unique event. The opportunity to participate in this occasion was de facto recognition of and appreciation for the contributions to Duke's heritage by the African-American constituency. We have consistently maintained that our talents, efforts and energies have been given as "a labor of love" for the university. Acknowledgment by our institution was both heartwarming

and exhilarating. We sincerely applaud and reciprocate the embrace of our community!

BRENDA E. ARMSTRONG, '70
Associate Professor of Pediatrics

Unfinished business . . . That's what these past thirty years are all about. Finishing what we started in 1963 when the first African-American students crossed the threshold of Duke University with the same hopes for a collegiate experience as their majority counterparts. As a member of the third class of African Americans at Duke in 1966, I had no idea that the experience that I embarked upon would dramatically change my life. I didn't know that it would set my course, ignite (or unleash) such passion about the entitlement of African Americans at Duke, and link my own personal history so inextricably to this institution.

My undergraduate years at Duke, 1966–70, were turbulent ones, personally and institutionally. Perhaps without realizing the significant "culture clash" that the attempt at integration would bring, Duke began the process of increasing its numbers of African Americans, the first "underrepresented" minority group at Duke University. What followed in the matriculation of over one hundred African-American students in that period were the predictable developments of a second world. The world of African-American students, who created a social, cultural, and political base through which they moved, interfaced with and confronted a hostile larger community at Duke. The emergence of the African-American community, and the failure to respond to the social, cultural, and political environment that spawned its development, set in motion the events that would lead to the most significant period of campus activism in Duke's history. It provided the impetus for the Hope Valley Study-In at Dr. Knight's office. It created "Black Week," the yearly weeklong celebration of the magnificence of Africa and African-American culture at

Duke. It was the inspiration for the Silent Vigil that united many seemingly disparate yet impassioned voices for underprivileged people at multiple levels of the university hierarchy. It was the voice of all the pain that we experienced at the death of Martin Luther King; and it was the genius that seized the momentum from Black Week 1969 to bring Duke's African-American community together as one to make a stand at Allen Building on February 13, 1969, a stand that would change the course of Duke's destiny and indelibly mark our place for all time in this institution's history.

JON J. PHELPS

Director, Associate Vice President for Student Affairs

As some of us realized at the time, the civil rights revolution of the 1960s was the most important sociological transformation in America since the Civil War—or perhaps ever. Thank God there were leaders like Mary Semans and Jack Preiss and Peter Klopfer and Dan Tosteson and Harmon Smith and Ned Opton and Paul Hardin and Sam Cook and Brenda Armstrong and Ben Ruffin and Frank Ashmore and Bill Turner and so many others, who made sure that Duke University stayed abreast of those crucial times. And thank God again for this archival history of our proudest period—the first time that we helped lead the rest of the world into a whole new era.

Chapter 1

History of Integration

A Timeline of Key Events

1961

- March 8, 1961. The board of trustees announces that students will be admitted to the university graduate and professional schools without regard to race, creed, or national origin.
- September 1961. Ruben Lee Speakes is the first African-American student to enroll in classes in the Divinity School; Speakes is admitted as a special student, as he has already received a divinity degree elsewhere.
- September 1961. Walter Thaniel Johnson, Jr., and David Robinson are the first African-American students to enroll in the Law School.

1962

- September 1962. Matthew A. Zimmerman and Donald Ballard are the first two African-American students to enroll in the Divinity School as official degree candidates; James Eaton, Ida Stephens Owens (Physiology Ph.D. '67), and Odell Richardson Reuben (Theology Ph.D. '69) are the first African-American students to enroll in the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences.
- June 2, 1962. The board of trustees announces that undergraduate students will be admitted without regard to race.

1963

- September 1963. Five African-American undergraduates enter as first year students: Wilhelmina Reuben-Cooke,

Mary Mitchell Harris, Gene Kendall, Cassandra Smith Rush, and Nathaniel White, Jr.

- September 1963. Delano Merriwether is the first African American to enroll in the School of Medicine.
- Academic year 1963–64. Mary Mitchell Harris is the first African-American student on the dean's list.

1964

- April 12, 1964. Samuel D. Proctor is the first African American to preach at Duke Chapel.
- November 17, 1964. Dr. Martin Luther King addresses the university community at Page Auditorium.



1966

- Dr. Samuel DuBois Cook becomes Duke University's first African-American faculty member. He enters the political science department as a visiting professor and subsequently is appointed a full professor.

- Wilhelmina Reuben-Cooke is the first African-American May Queen.



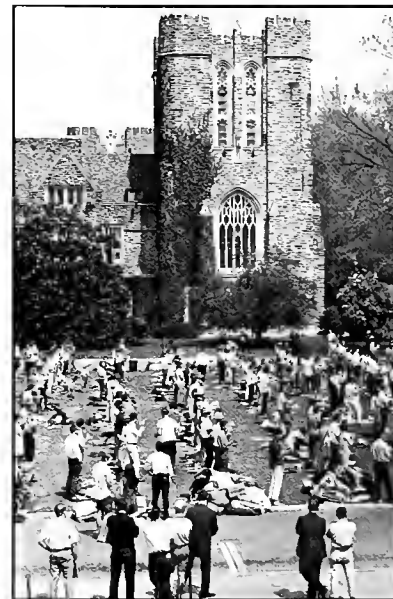
- Bishop Philip R. Cousin becomes the first African-American faculty member at the Divinity School.
- Mary Mitchell Harris, Nathaniel White, Jr., and Wilhelmina Reuben-Cooke receive their undergraduate degrees, as the first African-American Duke students to do so.



- Academic year 1967–68. C. B. Claiborne, '69, is the first African-American member of the Duke University basketball team.
- Hope Valley Study-In, November 13, 1967. Thirty-five members of the Afro-American Society stage a daylong study-in protest in the lobby of President Knight's office, denouncing the use of segregated facilities by university organizations, and the membership of key university officers, including President Knight, in the segregated Hope Valley Country Club.

1968

- The Afro-American Society is established as the first black student association. Later, the name of the organization is to change first to Association of African Students and then, in 1976, to Black Student Alliance.
- A Silent Vigil, April 5–11, 1968. Following a memorial service for Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., one day after his assassination, hundreds of students—black and white—gathered in the quad to protest Duke's discriminatory policies. The primary issues that emerged were unionization, wages, and working conditions of the maids, janitors, and dining hall workers. By the time the vigil ended on April 11, an agreement was reached for increases in salary for the workers.



- October 1968. African-American students present the administration with twelve points of concern. Concerns include black enrollment levels, the low number of black faculty members, and the continuing membership of key university officials in segregated facilities.

1969

- Black Week speakers include poet Carl Wayne Carter, Jr., local black community leader and organizer Howard Fuller, activists Dick Gregory and Fannie Lou Hamer, attorney Maynard Jackson, author LeRoi Jones, activist Ben Ruffin, actress K. Eleanor Rux, and historian James Turner.
- Allen Building Takeover, February 15, 1969. Sixty members of the Afro-American Society occupy the Allen Building for eight hours and present the university administration with a list of demands. Some seventy Durham city policemen, twenty-five highway patrolmen, and twelve Durham County sheriff's deputies were on campus making arrests and using tear gas, with National Guard troops on standby off-campus.



- Black Studies Program is instituted at Duke after much discussion and delay. Walter Burford is to be named program head in 1970.

- Office of Black Affairs is established. Later, its name is to change to Office of Minority Affairs, and, in 1993, to Office of Intercultural Affairs.

1974

- The university's first predominantly black fraternity, the Omega Zeta chapter of Omega Psi Phi, is founded. One year later, the university gives the fraternity housing in Wannamaker IV.
- Delta Sigma Theta is established at Duke as the first recognized black sorority.
- Alpha Kappa Alpha is established at Duke.

1975

- Alpha Phi Alpha is established at Duke.
- September 24, 1975. One hundred students protest and present the administration with grievances and demands for action toward amelioration of these conditions. Their priorities include departmentalization of the Black Studies Program and increasing the number of black faculty teaching black studies courses.


1976

- September 1976. The Association of African Students is renamed the Black Student Alliance, giving the group a stronger political mission. The BSA communicates the needs of black students to university administration and to the entire Duke student body.

- Reginaldo Howard becomes the first African American elected to the position of ASDU President. He is killed in an automobile accident before the beginning of his term, and the Reginaldo Howard Scholarship is established in his honor. A \$1,000-per-year stipend for four years is awarded annually to ten matriculating African-American students. The scholarship is supported by Duke's general operating funds.

Friday, February 16, 1984

BLACK



STAFF PHOTO

Reginaldo Howard, the first black elected ASDU president, died before his term began.

Scholarship has improved future

By BRENDAN DALY

The Reginaldo Howard Scholarship, Duke's only merit-based financial award exclusively for black students, will raise more than the minimum \$25,000 needed to retain an endowed scholarship at Duke, according to University officials.

Since its inception in 1976, the scholarship — a four-year, \$1,000-per-year stipend offered to 10 matriculating black students each year — has been supported by Duke's general operating funds. The general funds will continue to pay for the scholarship until its endowment reaches the level needed for self-sufficiency, according to Myrna Jackson, special gift officer of the University development office.

"The scholarship will be completed," Jackson said. "There really is no deadline (to raise the money). The University requires a scholarship to have \$25,000 within 10 years after the scholarship is first endowed, but I think they

1978

- Kim Matthews becomes Duke's first black female athlete when she joins the women's basketball team.

1979

- Iota Xi Chapter of Kappa Alpha Psi Fraternity Inc. is founded at Duke.

- Benjamin Chavis is admitted to the Divinity School while serving the fourth year of a jail term following his controversial conviction in the Wilmington 10 firebombing case. The conviction is to be overturned by a federal court of appeals in 1980. He recalled being brought to Duke by prison officials in leg chains and doing classwork in Greek and New Testament while in detention in a Hillsborough facility. Prison rules dictated that all lights go out at 10 p.m. This meant that Chavis would have to move his studies to the bathroom, the only lighted place after curfew. Chavis received his master's degree from Duke in 1980 and went on to get a Ph.D. in Theology from Howard University.

1982

- Duke University Black Alumni Connection (DUBAC) is created as an affinity alumni group of the larger Duke Alumni Association.

1983

- The Mary Lou Williams Center for Black Culture is established. The center is named for jazz musician Mary Lou Williams, who had been a popular artist-in-residence on campus for several years.

1986

- On May 3, 1986, the board of trustees votes to divest Duke's investments in South Africa.

1988

- April 21, 1988. The Academic Council passes a resolution to adopt the Black Faculty Initiative, to mandate the hiring of more black faculty in each department.
- Duke receives a \$500,000 anonymous grant for minority scholarships, provided that the funds are matched by Duke over the next five years.
- October 24, 1988. The Graduate School sponsors the Black on White Symposium to address racism in education in general; there is a special focus on racism at Duke.

1989

- Ashanti, a support group for Duke women of color, is established to promote unity among women of color on campus.
- Julian Abele Outstanding Achievement Award is established for professional students and faculty.

1990

- The Black Male Support Group is established for African-American males on Duke campus. This group was founded by Art Williams, '90, though it became operational after he graduated.
- Leonard C. Beckum is hired as the first African-American officer of the university, and is given the title university vice president and vice provost.

1991

- Martin Luther King, Jr., holiday is designated by President H. Keith H. Brodie as an official holiday for the university and medical center, effective January 1992.
- Janet Smith Dickerson is hired as the first woman and first African-American vice president of student affairs.

- A portrait of Julian F. Abele is hung in the Allen Building. He was the chief architect of the Duke campus, but his black identity was not commonly known until 1988.

1992

- Thirtieth Anniversary Committee is established by President H. Keith H. Brodie to oversee the commemoration of thirty years of African-American students at Duke University.

1993

- Alpha Phi Alpha becomes the first black fraternity to receive housing on West Campus.
- Spectrum House is established as a multicultural dorm on West Campus for students who express an interest in celebrating the various backgrounds, races, and ethnicities of the university community.
- Throughout the year commemorative events celebrate thirty years of African-American students at Duke University.

A Brief History of Duke University

Duke University was created in 1924 by James Buchanan Duke as a memorial to his father, Washington Duke. The Dukes, a Durham family who built a worldwide financial empire in the manufacture of tobacco and developed the production of electricity in the two Carolinas, long had been interested in Trinity College. Trinity traced its roots to 1858 in nearby Randolph County when local Methodist and Quaker communities joined forces to support a permanent school, which they named Union Institute. After a brief period as Normal College (1851–59), the school changed its name to Trinity College in 1859 and affiliated with the Methodist Church. The college moved to Durham in 1892 with financial assistance from Washington Duke and the donation of land by Julian S. Carr. In December 1924, the trustees gratefully accepted the provisions of James B. Duke's indenture creating the family philanthropic foundation, The Duke Endowment, which provided, in part, for the expansion of Trinity College into Duke University.

As a result of the Duke gift, Trinity underwent both physical and academic expansion. The original Durham campus became known as East Campus when it was rebuilt in stately Georgian architecture. West Campus, Gothic in style and dominated by the soaring 210-foot tower of Duke Chapel, opened in 1930. East Campus served as home of the Woman's College of Duke University until 1972, when the men's and women's undergraduate colleges merged. Since then, both the men and women undergraduates have attended Trinity College of Arts and Sciences and the School of Engineering.

Academic expansion of the university included the establishment of new graduate and professional schools. The first B.D. degree was awarded in 1927, the first Ph.D. in 1929 and the first M.D. in 1932. The School of Law, founded in 1904, was reorganized in 1930 and given its own building on West Campus. The business school was founded in 1969 and named the Fuqua School of Business in 1980.

Modern times have seen Duke realize its founders' aspirations to become a major center of learning. The Duke University Medical Center has achieved international prominence, and many Duke schools and departments are consistently ranked among the nation's best. The university frequently wins attention for its research achievements and academic innovations, and its faculty often is called upon to provide leaders for national and international academic and professional organizations. Duke continues to work to honor its founder's charge to attain "a place of real leadership in the educational world" and "to uplift mankind . . . to develop our resources, increase our wisdom and promote human happiness."

A Look to the Past

JACK J. PREISS

Professor Emeritus of Sociology

Having been through and survived the thirty years at Duke covered by the legacy, I feel it is appropriate to take stock of its substance. What is the bequest of the past and what does it portend?

Unquestionably, the legal and ethical pivot of the national struggle for racial equality was the 1954 Supreme Court decision that separate public educational facilities based upon race were inherently unequal. The ensuing years were to play out the ways in which this educational focus could be extended to other significant dimensions of life such as housing, economic opportunity, and employment. When I arrived at Duke in 1959, many faculty, administrators, and students felt that as a private university Duke should be exempt from the legal directives of the 1954 decision. The excerpt from the president's report quoted here [on page 22] reflects the ambiguity that existed on campus. Consequently, it was to take eight years of discussion, debate, and research to produce the 1961–62 trustee resolutions integrating the student body.

As a member of one of the self-appointed committees that produced the report on racial segregation and the faculty resolution to the board of trustees [see section "Policy Changes"], I can revisit that report and make a brief assessment of how far Duke has come in meeting its challenges.

From a pragmatic standpoint, it was clear that once the student body was desegregated few of the exclusionary policies and practices on campus and the Medical Center could survive. But the elimination of some of these practices took longer than they should have and some, such as hiring and promotion procedures governing nonacademic



employees, have been and still are difficult to pinpoint and dislodge.

The appearance of black undergraduates in 1963 accomplished the first major phase of desegregation at the university. Their numbers increased slowly, as was to be expected, due to the limitations of hardbound tradition and the necessity of strong financial support.

By 1968 there were enough black students to create a visible organized presence. Thus began a long and continuing struggle to maintain a racial identity in a structure and atmosphere which ostensibly attempted to eliminate racial differences. Although the students sought to remove barriers to functional equality, they also wished to maintain a social and cultural cohesion as a black entity. Pressure to increase the number of black students and faculty, and to develop a black studies program have been ongoing agendas to the present.

The black presence in most academic and professional areas of the university, including administration, has expanded, but the position of blacks in the nonacademic cate-

gories has shown less improvement. The university has maintained a consistent negative response to attempts, particularly in the Medical Center, to unionize nonacademic employees. While such unions do exist, primarily Local 77 on the academic campus, they have had a difficult time bargaining with the administration, and there is meager job security in place. Since most of the lower paying jobs are held by blacks, labor relations at this level have had a strong racial component.

It can be said that the general state of racial relations on the campus has been relatively quiescent in recent years—certainly compared with the turbulence and high drama of the '60s and '70s. I believe we are now in a period of institutionalization and, in some areas, of regression. The Duke campus, in microcosm, reflects a national mood of confusion and a less progressive stance on racial matters. There also appears to be growing division within the total black community itself, based more upon socioeconomic differences than racial identity, *per se*. The university administration is now experienced in dealing with racial issues and seems capable of early prevention of potential confrontations. Joining their white counterparts, many black students appear more focused on the self rather than upon the group as compared with their predecessors. Given the current amalgam, it is difficult to foresee any major movement or cause which might energize the campus in the near term.

One interesting aspect of this scene is that the racial spectrum has become more complex over the past decade. Whereas the black-white dimension was the only significant focus of race relations at Duke (and throughout the country) thirty years ago, there are now at least two other minorities which share the scene. Substantial numbers of Asian-American and Latin-American students are beginning to make their voices heard. They appear to be going through the same kinds of organizational steps charted earlier by African Americans, though so far with considerably less turmoil. Perhaps, from here on, the rela-

tionship among the several minority racial groups—black, yellow, Indian, etc.—will be as important as their individual and possibly collective interaction with the decreasing white majority.

A crucial question is whether the current group of advantaged minority students, faculty, and administrators at Duke and elsewhere will shoulder the leadership responsibility and the commitment to assist the struggles of their racial brethren who constitute the majority of the socioeconomic underclass in this country. This would have to be done in a backlash of conservatism and retrenchment which seems to be increasing nationwide. The jury is still out on that challenge.

Policy Changes

May 26, 1950

I am a Negro, a veteran and would desire to attend as a day student. Further, I am employed at A & T College, Greensboro, N.C., and with a family I find it increasingly difficult to get too far away from home, hence it would be a decided advantage to get the training that I desire in the state.

—Virgil C. Stroud, an applicant to Duke University

May 30, 1950

Replying to your letter of May 26, you perhaps are familiar with the past history of Duke University and its policy concerning requests similar to yours. There has been no change in policy.

—A. Hollis Edens, President of Duke University

May 17, 1954

Brown v. Board of Education

We conclude that in the field of public education the doctrine of “separate but equal” has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal.

—Chief Justice Earl Warren, 347 U.S. 483 (1954)

November 10, 1955

REPORT OF THE PRESIDENT [EDENS] TO THE FACULTY, Nov. 10, 1955
(Minutes of the Univ. Faculty, Nov 10, 1955–June 3, 1960, page 7)

SEGREGATION

I should like to pause here and mention only briefly the question of segregation, or desegregation if you wish, as it affects Duke University. I know many of you are concerned about this question both as its national and sectional implications as well as to its effect upon Duke University. As you well know, there are no regulations in the Charter or By-Laws of the University concerning this matter. These have not been necessary or desirable because until recently the laws of the state were controlling. Now the Supreme Court's ruling does not appear to have affected the status of privately supported institutions. What the future will be in this respect no one knows. It would be inappropriate and even foolish for me to argue the question here. The fact remains, however, that at present Duke University and similar institutions have discretionary power to admit negroes or not to admit them. This poses the problem with which many of you are concerned. The web of opinions, emotions and convictions is complicated, and there is no easy answer. At least this is the opinion of members of the Board of Trustees. To say that this question and related questions are constantly under discussion and review would be to state the obvious, it seems to me. It is also equally obvious that no change has been made in the traditional policy of Duke University.

There are many fringe areas of this problem which confront us daily. They have to do with contact between the races in academic, religious and cultural activities, and there is no clear guide for action. Therefore, we must act in this area with good judgment as we can in each situation, remembering to take into consideration the spirit in which each incident is presented and bearing it will have upon the larger problem. I cannot promise you a comfortable year in dealing with these terribly important matters. I can only promise you my best effort to act with good judgment for the long-range good of the University.

December 19, 1958

Response

Special Edition The Divinity School, Durham, North Carolina December 19, 1958

The following letter will be forwarded to President Edens prior to the regular February meeting of the Duke University Board of Trustees. While it does not necessarily reflect the opinion of the Divinity School Student Body, it does express clearly the convictions of its signers and of the members of the Editorial Board of Response. After the Christmas vacation all members of the Student Body will be given an opportunity to sign this letter before it is sent.

TO THE TRUSTEES OF DUKE UNIVERSITY

Dear Sirs:

Once again as the season of good will approaches, we feel bound in conscience to express to you our deep concern and perplexity over the racially restrictive admissions policy of the Divinity School. We feel this policy to be at odds with the faith we shall be proclaiming this Christmas and throughout the year. We know it is at odds with the stated aims of the Methodist Church in which most of us serve and with those of the two Annual Conferences in which most of us will pursue our vocation. We have told you in the past of the anguish of spirit it causes us to be recommending to our people a set of values which is not accepted by the great and progressive university of which we are members.

Once again we ask you respectfully to consider this matter afresh. It is not necessary that we rehearse again those considerations which we have proposed to you in previous years. The case has been stated in more than enough detail. But we ask you to note that none of the arguments that have been advanced for liberalizing policy loses its force with the passage of time. On the contrary, they grow more urgent as more and more of our communities begin to feel the pressure of the problem on the local level and look to the great institutions like Duke for the wise leadership they have come to expect.

We ask you if the time has not come to admit qualified Negroes to the Divinity School. We ask you, as we did last year, for a chance to discuss this with the members of your Committee on the Divinity School. And always we ask that your prayerful concern be given to the end that every policy and practice of our university may be worthy of the faith and the Church to which we are allied.

Respectfully yours,

William Lane
President of the Student Body
James W. Lavengood
Chairman of the Social Action

RESPONSE

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Respectfully yours,

William Lane, Pres. Student Body

James W. Lavengood, Chair, Social Action Committee

R. Web Leonard, Editor of Response

DUKE UNIVERSITY BOARD OF TRUSTEES RESOLUTIONS

March 8, 1961

RESOLVED that qualified applicants may be admitted to degree programs in the Graduate and Professional Schools in Duke University, effective September 1, 1961, without regard to race, creed or national origin.

June 2, 1962

RESOLVED that qualified applicants may be admitted to degree programs in the undergraduate colleges of Duke University without regard to race, creed or national origin.

May 1962

The following document, sent to the faculty with a cover letter from Jack J. Preiss, is from the Duke University Archives. It is the first document describing the resolution to admit African-American undergraduates to Duke University.

Dear Faculty Member:

The attached report concerning racial segregation at Duke University makes it clear that the area of undergraduate admissions is crucial for basic change in current policies.

At an open meeting of the University community on May 4, 1962 a motion was adopted to present a resolution to the whole faculty supporting the recent action of the Undergraduate Faculty Council. No concrete evidence of overall faculty expression is now on record. It is believed that such expression can contribute to the achievement of a desegregated University.

Accordingly, the following resolution will be presented at the next faculty meeting, June 1, 1962.

"Resolved: That the faculty of Duke University herewith endorses the resolution adopted by the Undergraduate Faculty Council April 12, 1962 recommending that at the earliest practicable date qualified applicants may be admitted to degree programs in the undergraduate colleges of Duke University without regard to race, creed or national origin. That a copy of the supporting resolution be sent to the President of the University with the request that it be forwarded to the Board of Trustees."

You are strongly urged to attend the faculty meeting in person and to support this faculty resolution. However, if you are unable to attend this meeting, and wish to register your support, please sign below and send as soon as possible to:

Jack J. Preiss

Department of Sociology and Anthropology

I will be unable to attend the June 1st faculty meeting and wish to register my approval of the resolution presented above.

Signed: _____

5/24/62

Faculty approval resolution 6/1/62
Trustees approved 6/2/62

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Department of Sociology and Anthropology

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Signed: _____

The following is the text of the report that Dr. Preiss sent to the faculty in late May 1962, to urge the faculty members to vote for the resolution to begin admitting black undergraduates to Duke University on June 1, 1962.

INTRODUCTION

The following report is a highly condensed summary of what is believed to be the first comprehensive survey of racial segregation at Duke University.

The report points out specific areas in which segregation exists, and indicates the relationships among these areas in terms of policy changes. At the same time, the positive aspect of the report, particularly opportunities for non-faculty employment, is encouraging. Clearly, existing opportunities are not being utilized. This may be due to habit or lack of knowledge of what can be done under existing policies.

Although this summary does not make action suggestions, it is obvious that such suggestions are necessary. These may range from simple administrative action in local areas (removal of restrictive signs on rest rooms) to rather complex stage processes (integrating hospital wards). The next task is to get some objectives and to achieve them with the resources and channels at hand in the University community. A united effort by all concerned would certainly contribute to the complete and permanent removal of racial segregation as an instrument of policy at Duke University.

CAMPUS ACTIVITIES AND FACILITIES

Statutory Factors

1. There are no statutes restricting use of University facilities and attendance at programs and public events on racial grounds.

Responsible Groups and Persons

1. The several directors and managers of the physical plant facilities, the dining halls, athletics and the Superintendent of the hospital are responsible for use patterns at their respective facilities.

2. It is likely that the President and the Board of Trustees would review any major proposed policy changes, particularly in relation to East Campus.

Present Policies

1. Use of West Campus facilities, including Page, Chapel, and dining rooms, is apparently free from racial discrimination.

2. A sign labeled "Colored Entrance" indicates a section for Negroes at the outdoor stadium:

a) This section is in a poor location.

b) Negroes with tickets may sit wherever the ticket applies, although there is some question whether Negroes would be sold tickets at the Stadium in other than the Negro section.

3. Use of East Campus facilities is restricted by designating some areas as "public" and some as "private."

a) "Public" buildings, such as the Auditorium, can be used on an integrated basis.

b) "Private" buildings, such as the Union and dormitory dining halls do not permit use by the Negroes.

c) Faculty members with Negro guests may be served meals in a special dining room.

d) It is believed that the Board of Trustees has specified this restriction on use of facilities to East Campus officials.

4. In the hospital there are several areas where racial discrimination functions:

a) One employee lounge and several restrooms in outpatient clinics are segregated.

b) Negro employees occupationally eligible to use the professional cafeteria do not eat there.

c) Negroes attempting to sit in the main lobby are asked to move to a smaller, less attractive area.

- d) Hospital wards are segregated.
- e) The main hospital Christmas parties are segregated, although some departmental parties are not.

Policy Changes Contemplated by Officials

1. No plans were mentioned as in process or imminent, although some restrooms in Bell Bldg and the hospital have been desegregated this past year.

Assessment

1. Although West Campus is quite free of segregation, Negroes have not used these facilities to any extent.
2. The Negro section at the outdoor Stadium is predicated on the assumption that Negroes prefer to sit together and that such separation avoids "incidents." No such preferences or "incidents" could be documented.
3. The distinction between "public" and "private" categories on East Campus seems aimed primarily at race, since unauthorized white persons use these dining facilities regularly without challenge.
4. The major hospital issue centers around patient integration on the wards, particularly in terms of the economic consequences.
 - a) Other areas of segregation could be eliminated in simple fashion within the hospital administrative structure.

EMPLOYMENT PRACTICES

Statutory Factors

1. There are no statutes restricting employment of persons by the University on racial grounds.

Responsible Groups and Persons

1. The President and Board of Trustees have authority to control policy and to review any faculty appointment.
2. Non-faculty appointments can be controlled by the Administrative Committee of the University;
 - a) Hiring may be done at the department level and by unit

heads in areas such as dining halls, building maintenance and the library.

- b) Most appointments are made in cooperation with University and hospital personnel office.

Present Policies

1. In general, there is no stated policy precluding appointment to faculty and non-faculty positions on racial grounds.
 - a) However, since Negroes are not now admitted to undergraduate college, it is unlikely that a Negro faculty member would be approved.
 - b) Hiring a Negro to a non-teaching faculty position is possible, although no policy decision has been requested to date.
 - c) There would be no objection to hiring Negroes to non-faculty positions throughout the University.
2. The hospital and dining halls employ considerable number of Negroes, a few in supervisory positions with white subordinates.
3. The library hires no Negroes in deference to "custom."
4. At the present time, no Negroes hold clerical jobs falling under the jurisdiction of the University personnel office;
 - a) Apparently this is due to lack of applicants who can qualify, although qualified Negroes would be recommended only if department heads or supervisors gave prior indication that a Negro would be considered.

Policy Changes Contemplated by Officials

1. No policy changes are being considered at the present time.

Assessment

1. There is considerable opportunity for employment of Negroes in non-faculty positions, although this opportunity is largely unused.
2. Administrators in areas where no Negroes are currently employed might well note the success of those areas where

integrated employment is now functioning.

3. The policy against faculty integration is unlikely to be changed as long as Negroes are not admitted as undergraduates.

HOUSING

Statutory Factors

1. In the deeds of lots sold by the University to faculty and staff there is a covenant which prohibits sale, lease, or rental of conveyed land and premises to Negroes.

a) The United States Supreme Court has declared public enforcement of such covenants to be unconstitutional.

b. Changes in deeds require a referendum among lot owners and approval by the Board of Trustees.

2. There is no statute restricting student University housing with regard to race.

Responsible Groups and Persons

1. The Board of Trustees has control of the handling and disposition of University property.

2. The Administrative Committee of the University and/or the Executive Committee of the Board of Trustees can take policy action (including denial of requests) prior to submission to the full Board.

3. Policy on University student housing can be set by the President and appropriate Vice Presidents and Deans.

Present Policies

1. The restrictive covenant on University deeds is retained.

a) Several attempts by a group of lot owners to have the covenant removed have been unsuccessful.

b) The University Council has decided it has no jurisdiction in the matter.

c) The University has, in several instances, waived the covenant to allow a purchaser to qualify for a FHA loan.

2. On West campus, there is no racial restriction on Negro guests and visitors in student housing areas.

3. On East campus, the designation of dormitories as "private" areas bars Negroes as visitors and guests.

a) Violations of this policy would be followed up by East Campus officials in terms of informing violators and invoking higher administrative channels if necessary.

Policy Changes Contemplated by Officials

1. No policy changes in either faculty or student housing areas are now being considered.

Assessment

1. The legal situation with regard to faculty lot areas is ambiguous, although it would appear that any violations of the racial covenant could not be prevented.

a) In view of the legal situation, the Board of Trustees may decide to eliminate the covenant from deeds in future developments.

2. As in the faculty employment situation, changes in the student housing policies will be necessary upon admission of Negroes to the undergraduate colleges.

ADMISSIONS

Statutory Factors

1. There are no statutes which restrict student admission to the University at any level on racial grounds.

Responsible Groups and Persons

1. The Board of Trustees sets policy in this area.

2. The President of the University, upon request of groups and individuals, may at his discretion request policy action by the Board.

3. Implementation of admission policies is: Graduate, Dean and Assistant Dean; Undergraduate, Registrar and Directors of Admissions.

Present Policies

1. A policy action to admit students to all Graduate Schools without regard to race was instituted in 1961.

a) At present there are Negro students in the Law School and the Divinity School.

2. Negroes are not now permitted to enroll in the Undergraduate Colleges.

Policy Changes Contemplated by Officials

1. Several officials interviewed believed policy changes were "inevitable" but disclosed no plans for making such changes.

2. On April 12th, the Undergraduate Faculty Council requested the President to transmit to the Board of Trustees a resolution calling for elimination of racial restrictions on undergraduate admissions.

a) At the moment, the President's decision on the request is not known.

Assessment

1. The fate and effect of the Undergraduate Faculty Council resolution cannot be determined at this time.

a) It may be that further demonstration of faculty support and interest will be necessary.

2. It is clear that area of admissions is the keystone for policy changes in other areas.

a) Without a change in admissions policy on the undergraduate level, only limited changes could be achieved in housing and use of facilities, particularly on East Campus, and in faculty hiring.

1988

ACADEMIC COUNCIL RESOLUTION
ON THE RECRUITMENT OF BLACK FACULTY

Excerpt

Whereas blacks remain underrepresented among Duke faculty and efforts to achieve the goal set by the Academic Council of doubling the number of black faculty by 1990 have been ineffective to date;

Whereas the responsibility for correcting the underrepresentation of black faculty is shared by the entire university community;

Be it resolved:

That the Administration requires each hiring unit within the university (Departments and programs in Arts and Sciences and in the School of Medicine, and the other professional schools) to increase the number of black faculty (at regular rank) over its present number (as of September 1, 1987) by at least one, before the fall of 1993, and that it provide incentives, financial and other, to make it possible for each department and hiring unit at Duke to do so.

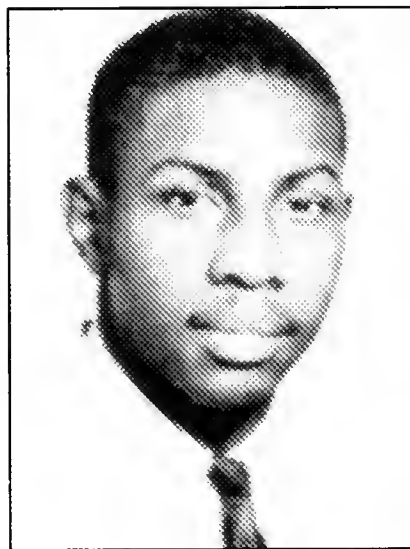
*Circa 1965—
They made history as the
first five African-American
undergraduates at
Duke University.*



Wilhelmina Reuben-Cooke



Mary Mitchell Harris



Gene Kendall



Cassandra Smith Rush



Nathaniel White, Jr.

The First Five Undergraduates

We thank Bridget Booher, the author, and Duke Magazine for permission to reprint this article that first appeared in the September-October 1992 issue of Duke Magazine.

WILHELMINA REUBEN-COOKE, '67



From childhood, Wilhelmina Reuben-Cooke had recognized the power and importance of education. The eldest of six children, Reuben-Cooke learned about social issues and the application of ideas from her parents' after-work conversations. Her father, Odell Reuben, Ph.D. '70, was president of

Morris College in Sumter, South Carolina, and her mother was on the faculty there.

As it turned out, she and her father were both on campus at the same time, earning their respective graduate and undergraduate degrees. At the suggestion of her father's graduate school adviser, Professor Emeritus of Christian Ethics Waldo Beach, Reuben-Cooke applied. Until then, she had planned to enroll at either her mother's alma mater, Fisk, or at Oberlin, where her father earned his master's. But a visit to Durham changed all that; she fell in love with the Duke Gardens and campus.

As a first year student, the highly motivated South Carolina native immersed herself in the social and academic whirl. By the time she graduated in 1967, Reuben-Cooke had been selected Phi Beta Kappa, had held leadership po-

sitions with the YWCA and the university's religious council, and was listed in "Who's Who Among Students in American Universities and Colleges." To crown her achievements, the political science major was elected May Queen by a majority of her Woman's College peers. (There was no slate of candidates; each student nominated whomever she wanted and Reuben-Cooke won with the most write-in votes.) She also signed in 1967 the open letter protesting the membership of key administrators and faculty at the then all-white Hope Valley Country Club.

After graduation, Reuben-Cooke began work on a doctorate in American studies at Harvard but took time off to get married. Her sights then changed to law school. She taught and then practiced communications law in Washington, D.C., until 1986. Now a law professor and associate dean of Syracuse University Law School, Reuben-Cooke has maintained her ties to Duke: She was appointed to a six-year term on the board of trustees in 1989.

When I decided to come to Duke, I knew it wouldn't be an easy task. The majority of students were from the South, and most of them had never dealt with African Americans as peers. I assumed my social life wouldn't be great, and I knew my expectations about college would be tempered by reality. But I had a sense of personal commitment; it was the sixties and the quest for change and civil rights was gaining momentum. It seemed to all of us that we had a role to play.

What I discovered was that I never had any regrets [about choosing Duke]. I was socially active and had a lot of friends. And

an important part of that experience was being forced to meet people and to develop relationships that I probably wouldn't have made in another context. That created in me a sense of optimism about the ways people can grow and change.

I still ask myself how I managed to do everything I did. I guess it goes back to the way I grew up. My parents believed that you should be involved in your community. So that would have been my way of life no matter where I went to school. You have a responsibility to create the environment you desire; you can't criticize what you don't participate in. Duke made it a comfortable possibility for me. And it was fun! I'm making it sound so deadly serious, but it was always fun....

One of the things that concerned me about Duke at the time was that I wondered how politically active we really were. I was at Harvard when I heard that students had taken over the Allen Building [in 1969]. To embrace issues and feel strongly about them was a good thing for Duke. And it was part of a general awakening across the nation. Those were tumultuous times. For a school not to have had demonstrations and marches would have said something negative about the intellectual commitment of the institution.

In terms of numbers and comfort levels, that continues to be a question. Not only did I not have any African-American professors, but I only had one class in which there was another black student. And that does make a difference in your learning. The basic dynamic of a white institution is that the comfort or "safety" level is far different for students of color than it is for the majority. That's the beginning point, and it colors everything.

As a trustee, I have been impressed with the concern for diversity. We should be looking not only at increasing numbers of African-American students, but also at how we educate overall. We should be moving towards a society where all kinds of people work together. The demographics of the twenty-first century will be far different than today's. And part of our responsibility is to educate students on how to live and work with other people. These are the challenges we face.

MARY MITCHELL HARRIS, '67



Mary Mitchell Harris made up her mind in the tenth grade that she wanted to attend Duke. An honors student at Durham Hillside High School, Harris wasn't dissuaded by a well-intentioned guidance counselor who told her she might want to make alternative plans. By the time Harris was valedictorian of her senior class, the trustees had voted to desegregate and Harris was offered admission.

Both my parents worked at American Tobacco, so I was aware of the Duke family and their influence on the tobacco industry. But I never considered what it would be like to attend the university. Once I was there, it was like being in a world inside a world I'd known all my life. My only connection was with the people who worked in the dining and residence halls. And that connection was friendly, but loose and detached.

The transition was a lot easier than I thought it would be. I did spend a few nervous moments wondering if the strength of my elementary and high school academics would stand up at Duke. But I made the dean's list the first year.

By my second year, I had fallen in love and [my fiancé's and my] grades were slipping. So we decided to get married and stabilize our lives. Marriage was a big surprise to me and the people who knew me. It's one of those decisions that rushes its way into your life without it really being your choice. But at the time, it wasn't that unusual for people to marry young.

I was pre-med throughout my undergraduate career, although I

changed from biology to psychology my junior year. I don't remember classes interacting that much with the social issues of the time. There was an anthropology course that addressed the origins of humanity, and I recall that the professor included supportive statements about the role of Africans.

We didn't have open conversations about racial issues, not even informally. I guess my just being there was enough of a statement. It really was. What conversations we did have focused more on commonalities, things that we shared that weren't in the context of race. Things like, "Oh, you mean this happened to you when you were ten years old too?" Friendships were based on the pleasant discoveries we made about things we all went through.

Last fall I decided to sit in on a class at Duke, and it totally satisfied my view of what the university is doing in the classroom. It was an English course that looked at a multicultural approach to life through the eyes of various writers. It updated me considerably. And the involvement of the class was spectacular. My experience showed me that a liberal arts education is alive and well; professors are comfortable with the approach and are open to the ideas and orientation of their students. . . .

One of the things I'm interested in is corporate psychology. There are some communications theories regarding race relations in the corporate world. Often, there are [surface] acquaintances which are comfortable and polite, but that never move beyond the cursory level. And moving beyond that to real friendships is necessary because whenever issues come up that can be divided along racial lines, a demarcation is in place.

It's the same thing for academic institutions; there have to be real, true friendships among faculty and administrators [that cross racial lines] in order for students to think that there's really something new under the sun. When you talk about creating a multicultural environment, you have to look at the staff and administrative level as much, if not more so, than the student level.

GENE KENDALL, '67



Born the second son of six children, Greensboro native Gene Kendall was approached by MIT, Princeton, and most of the historically black colleges to apply for admission. But Duke offered him a full scholarship, and Kendall's decision, he says, was thus essentially made for him. With his sights on

a mechanical engineering degree, Kendall took the mandatory pre-major classes, only to find that his high school coursework left him unprepared for the university's math and science requirements. A low grade on the semester's first physics exam left him scrambling to catch up, and by sophomore year, Kendall knew he would lose his scholarship. Financial considerations forced him to drop out.

Now a captain in the navy, where he is director of the U.S. Naval Academy's math and science division, Kendall says his Duke experience was a turning point for him in his personal and professional life.

I attended James B. Dudley High School, in Greensboro, which was a large, segregated school. There were 250 people in my graduating class. I knew that Duke had no blacks in their undergraduate programs, but I didn't really consider any other school once I was offered the scholarship.

My community was ecstatic and my family was happy, but there was really no pressure [to be the exceptional child]. I was simply going away to college.

The single most difficult thing about coming to Duke was that I had no reference for how things would be. My high school had pre-

pared me well for liberal arts courses but I was woefully ill-prepared for science and math. And that feeling prevailed throughout: "My God, what have I gotten myself into?" There was no hostility or anything like that on campus or with any of the people I associated with. I was very well received and was expected to participate in the university, and I did.

My score on the [freshman] physics exam was so low that it was impossible for me to pass the course at that point. If I'd known that I was in that much trouble, I would have gone for help earlier, but I thought I knew the material. I really did.

You've got to remember that I was coming from a high school environment where I was at the top of everything. Nothing had ever been difficult; my studies came easily. I was devastated by my failure and I asked myself, "Hey, am I as smart as everyone says I am, or has it all been a terrible joke? Should I have taken a lesser scholarship in a more caring environment and given myself a chance to grow?"

In retrospect, my chances at Duke were very, very slim. Even though my SATs were the highest of anyone at my high school, they were below the average for other Duke students and way lower than those of the average engineering student. I didn't know that when I arrived, and things started piling up and before I knew it, I realized I would essentially be flunking out because my scholarship wouldn't be renewed.

I joined the navy and did quite well, so the navy wanted to send me back to school. I asked them to send me back to Duke, but because of tuition costs, they would only agree to send me to UNC (within the state). And I figured if I couldn't go to Duke, there was no point in going to Carolina. Stanford was my next choice, but the military science building had been burned down by students the year before, so the navy wasn't sending anyone there. So I went to the University of Kansas, where I earned an engineering and physics degree. I graduated with honors and was president of the physics society.

My Duke experience put things into perspective. It showed me that no matter how you think things are, there are always holes in your preparation. It taught me to look for whatever I was uncomfortable with and work on that, rather than assume everything is

okay because the surface seems fine. It also taught me how to recover from adversity and setbacks—how to return from the end-of-the-world syndrome. And it reinforced some interesting beliefs that sometimes even the most noble experiments don't work.

CASSANDRA SMITH RUSH, '67



While attending St. Anne's Academy, a Catholic high school for girls in Winston-Salem, Cassandra Smith Rush decided her life goal was to be a doctor. Because of Duke's reputation for its outstanding undergraduate and medical schools, she applied for admission during her junior year. At that point, the university

was still segregated and her application was denied. Months later, she read that the university's board of trustees had voted to admit black undergraduate students, so she reapplied and was offered a scholarship to attend. Her family was "absolutely thrilled," she says, especially her father. (His boss' daughter had applied and been turned down.)

As a first-year student, Rush was a zoology major, but, after a particularly rigorous comparative anatomy course, she switched to French. Other changes were taking place as well. Rush became caught up in the political and social currents of the time, specifically in the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), a national organization that established a Duke chapter in 1963.

Unsure of her career goals, Ruth left the university after the first semester of her junior year. She now works as a

staff specialist at Southern New England Telephone in New Haven, Connecticut, where she lives with her two sons.

I'm proud to say I went to Duke, and sometimes I wish I'd stuck it out. But at the time, I wasn't happy and I didn't know what I wanted to do. I was tired of the fights with townspeople, who could be absolutely hostile, and very brutal. And even some of the students would cross the quad rather than speak to me. Or they would look the other way when they walked past.

I grew up in a very sheltered environment and it really hurt. I hadn't ever been treated like that. For a long time I put it out of my mind because it was so unpleasant, especially the off-campus encounters.

I was arrested in Chapel Hill in early 1964. Martin Luther King, Jr., had spoken [at Duke], and our CORE group walked from Durham to Chapel Hill to hold a sit-in protest in front of a [segregated] restaurant there. We were thrown in jail for trespassing and resisting arrest. But it was fine, because we were all together. . . .

For my sons, it is so, so different. They were born and raised in integrated neighborhoods and schools. They grew up in an environment where we didn't label people black, white, Chinese, whatever. Our house always looked like a United Nations meeting. My sons would describe their new friends to me and tell me how old they were, where their parents lived and more. But until I met them, I would have no idea what race they were. I taught them to look at other people as human beings. And maybe I've done them an injustice because we live in a racist society. But as little kids, they were never aware of racism. And it shouldn't be an issue that children have to deal with. Consequently, they fit right in and feel they're entitled to the same rights as anyone else. When they see instances of [racism] they ask me "Why? Why do people raise their children that way?" And I tell them that it's a form of child abuse when parents raise their children to be racist.

After I left Duke, I worked in Washington, D.C., for the government and then the navy. I went as far as I could go without a college degree; not having that piece of paper kept me from going ahead to the next level. So I started thinking about returning to

school, but it wasn't until I was at home with my first child that I really felt I was vegetating. I felt that my brain was turning to mush! I'd go shopping just to encounter other adults.

When I went back to work part-time at the Federal Reserve, I applied for and won an employee scholarship which paid for my college tuition. So when I got my degree [a bachelor's in economics from Philadelphia's Chestnut Hill College], it really meant a lot to me because I was so ready. I graduated on Mother's Day in 1979. Because of my experience, my sons understand why I'm so determined for them to stay in school.

NATHANIEL WHITE, JR., '67



His family lived only three miles from campus, but Nathaniel White, Jr., remembers little about the university from his childhood in Durham. Segregation meant that he and his classmates at Hillside High School only interacted with white students during weekly science seminars at Durham High. White

recalls that the prospect of going from a completely black environment to a nearly all-white one was "an appealing challenge." Once there, White discovered it was "like going to a whole new city."

In August of 1965, I was in the March on Washington. An uncle from New York was there, as was another one who lived in Washington . . . we all met there. It was probably the last family reunion we had. Within a week of that, I was starting my classes at Duke.

There seemed to be a lot of advance preparation for our arrival. My roommate had been pre-picked; he was a sophomore. I got the impression that the faculty, undergraduates, and graduate students

were ready [for desegregation] and that it was the board of trustees that delayed it from happening as long as it did.

We were a novelty effect because we were new; you know, "What are they really like?" My bottomline approach became, as a function of that, that I had high expectations for my friends [regardless of color], so the people who I had problems with, who didn't live up to my expectations, I wasn't interested in being around. As a result, the number of people I associated with was much smaller than if I'd attended my father's alma mater, Hampton Institute, where I'd been planning to go before I got accepted to Duke.

You have to remember that not only was Duke all white when I was there, but it was also very southern. I remember having a discussion with an athletics administrator about how we ought to be recruiting black athletes, and he gave me a lecture about how Duke had high academic standards. I told him I didn't think I'd gotten in without meeting those academic standards. . . .

The basketball team was as hot then as it is now, and my roommate and I were both big fans. But back then they would play "Dixie," which was practically like the national anthem because everyone would stand up. We would organize sit-downs. We eventually had a whole section that wouldn't stand when it was played.

They finally stopped playing it. They were beginning to learn. It's interesting to look at what we were working toward back then and whether we've gotten there. I would say we haven't. I think the gap between the haves and the have-nots is widening. Look at the L.A. riots, for example. Now, it's not so much a matter of whether a restaurant will serve you, it's how you're going to pay for your meal once you're there. One thing that's happening at Duke which I think is positive is the move toward a multicultural environment. That is a critical step, because the world is multicultural, and if you're turning out students who aren't exposed to that, or equipped to live in it, they're at a real disadvantage.

The resistance to changes in the curriculum is part of that. You have people who say they don't want to "dilute" the curriculum, but the idea that you can write about history and completely ignore the contributions of minority [populations], and pretend that certain things never happened, is wrong. As I got older and learned about

all the contributions of minorities, it made me really mad that I'd never heard about these people in my classes. . . .

In my current job, I'm director of the Public Health Sciences Institute at Morehouse College. Our primary emphasis is to encourage undergraduates to pursue careers in epidemiology and statistics. Our fourteen-week summer program matches juniors and seniors from historically black colleges with researchers at the Centers for Disease Control. We also want to start a club for students interested in public health. It would be like a pre-med group; there would be internships for students who had been research assistants and who wanted to focus on public health problems.

Student Activism

By 1967, black students at Duke had spent more than a few years attempting to adjust to their new integrated university community. They began to realize that the university campus was not free from the discrimination they had known in their local communities. They were painfully aware of the inequities the black workers were subjected to. As they became unhappy with their own plight and realized the potential strength and power students held, they, as many students on campuses around the country, turned to mass protest to express their frustration and anger.

HOPE VALLEY STUDY-IN,
NOVEMBER 13, 1967

The daylong protest began at 8:30 in the morning when thirty-five members of the Afro-American Society arrived at



President Knight's office and sat down on the floor and began their "study-in." The students demanded to speak with the president to request that he forbid the use of segregated facilities by the university and that he and other key administrators end their membership in the segregated Hope Valley Country Club.

The protest came in the aftermath of a correspondence that occurred the previous Friday. The group had sent a letter to the president making



a demand: "The Duke University Afro-Americans DEMAND that our administration IMMEDIATELY announce and explicitly institute a policy of total prohibition of patronization of segregated facilities/establishments by ANY university organization." Dr. Knight replied in a letter denouncing their "explicit threat of disruption," and stating that "the university will accept no ultimatum."

The demonstrators were peaceful throughout the day, but on several occasions blocked passers-by from going through the lobby. Several times the students were involved in discussions with the administration. Their statements were recorded by local and national media.

That night, the Student Faculty Administration Committee passed a resolution recommending a university-wide policy prohibiting use of segregated facilities.



A SILENT VIGIL, APRIL 5–11, 1968

Prompted by the tragedy of Martin Luther King, Jr.'s assassination on April 4, 1968, and after a memorial service at the Duke Chapel Hill on April 5, hundreds of stu-

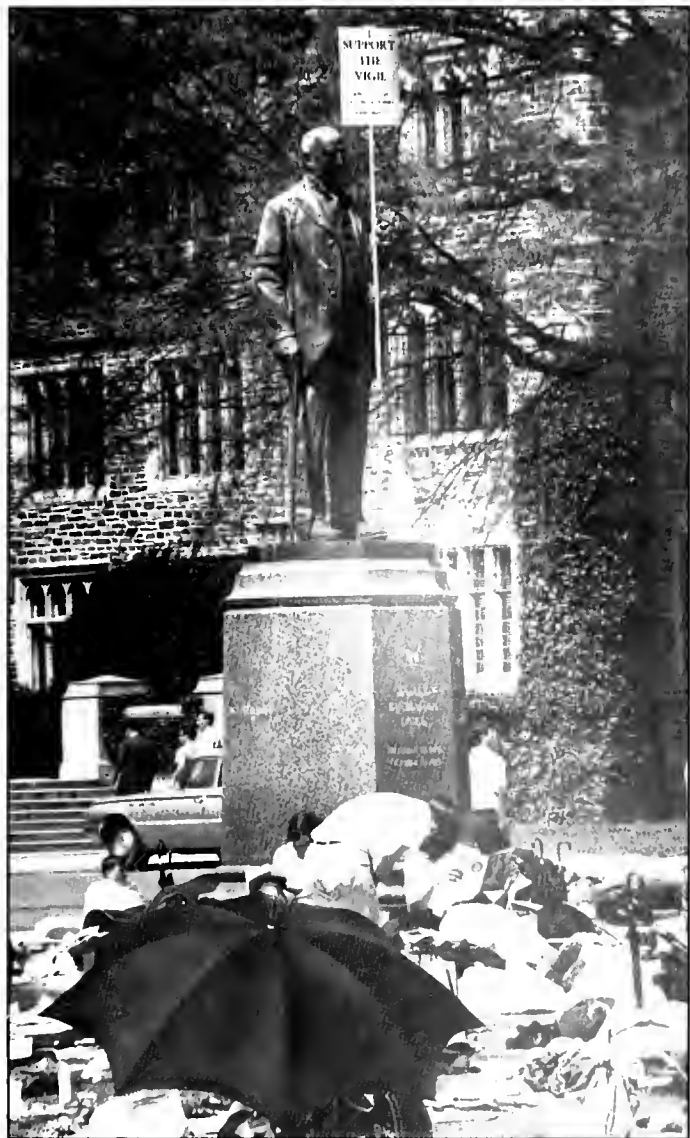


dents—black and white—began gathering in the quad in grief and in protest of Duke's discriminatory policies. This is how the weeklong demonstration, A Silent Vigil, began. Early in the week, students marched to the president's house under the direction of Howard Fuller and Ben Ruffin and peacefully occupied it.

As the strength of the vigil increased in numbers and spirit each day, many students, faculty members, and community leaders united around the common concern for improvement of the workers' conditions at Duke.

The primary focus that emerged and defined this protest was the employment conditions of the maids, janitors, and dining hall workers. Demands were made for unionization, increase in wages, and improvement of working conditions.

By the time the protest ended on April 11, the trustees had agreed to an increase of the workers' wages, among other concessions.



"There is nothing more remarkable than the ingenuity that the various demarcations of the color line reflect. If only the same creative energy could be used to eradicate the color line; then its days would indeed be numbered."

—John Hope Franklin, *The Color Line: Legacy for the Twenty-first Century*

Afro-American Society occupied the Allen Building on February 13, 1969 for eight hours. Sixty members presented the university administration with a list of thirteen demands. The administration summoned the Durham Police, who arrived at the Allen Building with tear gas. The takeover resulted in three student arrests, charges of police brutality, and the treatment of forty-five people in the Duke Hospital Emergency Room. Students boycotted classes for three days after the takeover. Thirteen AAS leaders were tried under the university's pickets and protests policy. All thirteen were eventually acquitted.

The following are the thirteen grievances and demands that the students presented to the administration:

1. The establishment of a fully accredited department of Afro-American studies.
2. The right to establish a black dormitory on campus.
3. Representation of the black student population to reach twenty-nine percent of the student body by 1975, since that figure represented the percentage of blacks in the area and "since Duke claims to be representative of the Southeast."
4. The reinstatement of black students who, "because of the stifling social and educational environment at Duke," were unable to achieve the required academic standing and were forced to leave the university.
5. "Financial reassurance for black students." Decreased scholarships had threatened to limit the number of returning black students.
6. A black advisor selected only by direct consultation with black students.
7. The earmarking of black student fees for a black student union rather than to the student union.
8. The establishment of academic achievement in high school, rather than standardized test scores, to be the criterion for black students for admission to the university be-

cause, "we believe the criteria for entering black students are oriented toward white middle-class students, and therefore are inadequate for determining academic potential."

9. The right for non-academic employees to have the power to determine the basis for their working conditions, rights, and other employment matters.

10. "An immediate end to tokenism of black representation in university power structures."

11. "An immediate end to police harassment of black students and protection of all black students at Duke."

12. A demand to the end of grading for black students.

13. Total amnesty for all black students involved in the takeover of the Allen Building.



On the evening of Thursday, February 13, 1994, my children and I went over to campus for a candlelight vigil to commemorate the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Allen Building Takeover. I found myself moved to tears as I approached the building, and as I listened to the students celebrate, analyze, and attempt to place in perspective the events that occurred twenty-five years ago. I have been asked to recount the events of this protest for you. I suppose that I have put this off to the last minute for the same reasons that I was so overcome Thursday night. It dredged up some particularly painful and unresolved feelings about the circumstances that led up to and followed the Allen Building Takeover.

The seeds of the Allen Building Takeover were sewn with the decision to begin admitting "large numbers" of black students to Duke. "Large" meant more than one. Imagine yourself a newly graduated African-American high school student, excellent GPA, excellent SATs, leader in your school. Perhaps you were a merit nominee and definitely an achievement scholar, having successfully completed your preparation in an environment of caring, protective, high-achiever teachers. Imagine teachers who had carefully orchestrated your high school career to make you the most successful, well-exposed, ambitious, and focused group of people to benefit from the earliest successes of the civil rights era. Most of us were from first-generation middle class black families. Some of us were the first in our families to get the chance to go to college.

Most of us came up through strong but segregated primary and secondary educational systems. Most importantly, however, we were sent with the purpose to take our places as the next generation of black leaders. Now imagine what we found when we came to Duke, in 1965, 66, 67, and 68. There were at most ninety of us including the athletes, seventy-five or so excluding them. The women lived

on East Campus; the men on West. We were spread out in dorms. We had no transportation on or off campus other than the bus. Some of us were the "onlies" in the dorms—the objects of stares, giggles, offensive name calling, and isolation the likes of which none of you can imagine. Some of us came back to our dorm rooms to find Confederate flags on the doors with "nigger go home" written over it. Most of us never heard a friendly voice, except that of the dorm "maids." These were older black women who were addressed by their first names by young white college students. We watched helplessly as we corrected the young white students who ignored us and kept on with their disrespectful gestures. We remember what it felt like when we sat down at a table in the dining room and everyone else got up. On the bus or even in the classroom everyone moved over. We knew what the message was in allowing sororities and fraternities to use facilities that openly discriminated against blacks and Jews. Even the president of the university was a member of one of them. We endured hearing "Dixie" and the concomitant waving of the Confederate flag at football games. Those of us who were females needed the brothers to literally escort us to the basketball games to protect us from the racial slurs that effused from the KAs as we walked by their house on the way to the indoor stadium.

We moved on campus mostly as invisible people. We were the objects of the worst kind of racism in the classroom, where we started out at a deficit. It was incomprehensible to have been considered smart enough for "A" work, especially when subjective grading of essays or term papers, or theses were concerned. The few of us in science battled the results of that isolation even in areas where subjective grading would have been harder. We were not given the benefit of the old tests, or the lab assistant's tutelage. We were thought of as "dumb" when we asked for help. The white students were characterized as "competitive" for the same request. We remember all trying to take Dr. Cook's class. He was the only black professor around.

We remember his frustration in unsuccessfully attempting to accommodate us. We watched helplessly as almost fifty percent of those academically gifted black students from 1966 to 1968 left after one or two semesters at Duke. Their financial aid was withdrawn because their grades were not good enough. And we felt that awful terror when the males left because we knew that it would automatically call them up for the draft for the Vietnam War. Our worst fears were realized when at least two died in Vietnam. We woke, ate, slept, studied, rejoiced, and cried alone. After reaching a critical mass of "us" with the twenty blacks in the class that enrolled in 1966, we realized that there was a mutual experience that we all shared which went beyond personal encounters. We could identify it as a living, breathing, scourge on our attempts to get an education from Duke. We knew that we needed a social and political outlet. That need gave rise to the Afro-American Society in the spring of 1967.

The "Afro-Am" Society, as we affectionately called it, was the hub of our social, cultural, and political existence. It was what we touched every day to reassure us that those negative messages that so dominated our existence were not real. We organized the first nonviolent demonstration against the use of the Hope Valley Country Club and the subsequent "Study-In" at Dr. Knight's office. This led to the university adopting a policy that no university supported organization could use any facility that openly discriminated against blacks. The society coordinated our participation in and co-leadership of the Silent Vigil that protested Duke's discriminatory policies, especially as they applied to the workers. It was the repository for our yearly expressions of the glorious history, culture, and emerging political power through Black Week. There we orchestrated the weekly activities that included theatrical productions directed, casted, and produced entirely by AA students (most of whom had no prior training). It was also where the generation of our literary magazine occurred.

This we assembled with creativity since we had no money. The society arranged the takeover of the radio station with AA students as the DJs, and the change in the normal offerings in the cafeterias. Most importantly, the weeklong discussions of the politics and sociology of our people, which brought the likes of Dick Gregory, Fannie Lou Hamer, Julian Bond, Maynard Jackson, Ben Ruffin, and Howard Fuller to campus, all occurred during Black Week. We felt empty when it was over, thirsting for more and wondering why there wasn't a Black Week in our curriculum. Black Week focused the issues that were seething in our day-to-day lives at Duke, the issues that required that something be done.

So, in the spring of 1968, shortly after the first Black Week concluded, we met. We began to identify those issues that were the recurring themes in our lives which would lead to the famous thirteen demands. READ these.

We went through the lengthy process of meeting with the administration, with the Dean of Student Affairs William Griffith and with representatives of Dr. Knight's office. We attempted to address these thirteen demands. We asked for a timeline and detailed descriptions of the implementation of these thirteen demands. In the meantime, we lost another thirty percent of our numbers. Martin Luther King was shot and killed. There were now confrontations occurring between white and black students on campus. I remember vividly studying in my dorm room when another black student came to tell me that Dr. King was dead. I remember sitting in Wallace Fowlie's French class the next day, feeling no reason to be there. I got up, excusing myself in tears, and walked to the quad only to find droves of us who had the same reaction. I remember then marching to the president's house under the direction of Howard Fuller and Ben Ruffin, with other grieving black students. We occupied it peacefully. We asked what the university would do to respond to this tragedy and to our demands. I remember feeling empty and rejected as

the semester ended. There was no movement to resolve our demands. Another thirty percent left. Fall semester of 1968 started. The demands were back on the table. There was an uneasy calm on campus. The work of the Afro-Am Society was focused around Black Week in February, and in seeing the thirteen demands through. In November, just prior to the end of the semester, with no apparent movement by the administration to substantively address our demands, we broke off all negotiations with the university and retreated.

I remember reading in the last issue of *Harambee*, published February 5, 1969, a quote from "J. T. Bear," who was one of our colleagues. It went, "Hibernation is covert preparation for an overt action." Nothing described the events which transpired better. We decided that we would demonstrate to the university our resolve. We would demonstrate to the university that its racist ethos (and the *pursuit* of that ethos) was choking the academic, social, and cultural life out of some of the most gifted African Americans. We would not go down without a fight. Allen Building was on. Swiftly, we all began our assorted tasks. Some memorized the floor plans to the Allen Building—every door, lock, transom, entrance, and exit. Some secured information about the way in which Duke filtered its news to the press and how we would bypass the filter. We decided what we wanted to accomplish, what time we would go, and by what means. We discussed the plan with those in the community who had been our eyes and ears, who protected our young spirits, and whose example we followed for leadership and focus. We talked to Ben and Howard. And then, most importantly, we decided who would go. Fortunately, Black Week came February 4–11. It was a great week. Fannie Lou Hamer came. Maynard Jackson came. James Turner came. There were productions of James Weldon Johnson's "The Lord's Trombones" and readings of Leroi Jones (aka Amiri Baraka). We all went to see Aretha throw down in Raleigh. We carpooled,

caught the bus, did whatever was necessary to get to see the Queen of Soul. Finally Dick Gregory came. In his voice came the message that brought it all home to all of us. He said, "If you can't breathe, you can't live. If the racism is choking you, you're already dead unless you take your plight in your own hands. . . ."

In our own hands. On February 12th, we met on Markham Avenue to finalize the plans and talked about who would go. The athletes said they would be our eyes on the top of the Social Science Building. There was ambivalence as to what our parents would say. Our discussions were passionate and emotional. We expressed our fears, and our frustrations after a year of negotiations with Duke. Some wanted to take a less severe path. We all agreed that something had to be done. Some of us knew we were going no matter what. Some of us needed the night to think. All of us were given until 6:00 A.M. the next morning to decide. Those who showed up would go; those who couldn't would support us in whatever way they could. We were to pick up a truck which would carry us to the building, before the major work force was there. Ben and Howard had been alerted that we would need some significant support from the Durham community. They guaranteed that they would be there for us again. We would secure the building in three minutes or less. No weapons would be taken. Books, some food, and what was needed to lock us in would be brought along. The appropriate persons at AP and UPI would be notified when we left, and we would not call our parents until we were safely inside. Those of us who were organizing prayed that everyone would make the right decision. None of us slept that night. Sixty or sixty-one students showed up at 6:00 A.M. for that fateful trip in a dark U-HAUL truck down Campus Drive to the Allen Building. I cried, trembled, and prayed as I rode in the dark. When the doors opened, we ran into the building and secured it as planned. We made the phone calls, hoisted the Malcolm X Liberation University banner onto

the secured doors of the Allen Building. Then we cheered . . . because it was our time and our destiny unfolding in front of us and we were there. In the eight hours that transpired, we called our parents (most of whom cried on the phone and then threatened to kill us if the university didn't succeed in doing so first). We took pictures of the moment and tried to study. But there was no studying that day. Soon we heard the sounds of the police. We rejoiced when we heard on the radio that our leak to AP and UPI had caught Duke off guard. The whole world knew!!! A steady stream of administrators came. They implored us to leave, and promised to do more. They warned us that we would be expelled. At the same time, the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) occupied the second floor in support of our action. They did not lock themselves in. Students could walk around them. Ben and Howard had made good on their promise. There was a circle of community support beginning to amass around the entrances to the Allen Building. In the meantime, the athletes had not failed us. While the faculty senate (UFCAS) debated what to do, Dr. Knight had already called for outside police assistance. The students thought he had called the National Guard to come to "get us out of the building" and restore



the campus back to its somnolence. The white students were beginning to ask what was happening. The campus had come to a standstill. The world was looking at Duke and asking how it could have allowed this to happen. No longer could Duke escape attention; insulate itself from the



real world; go about business as usual; or delay coming to grips with its cancer of racism. We had our victory, our decisive moment. The momentum created from this forced the university to make sweeping changes in the way it taught, thought, treated, and incorporated all of its students into a larger world. With the community amassed at the doors to absorb us as we left (i.e., we took advantage of the fact that we "all look alike"), we quietly stole away, merging imperceptibly with the mass of community support. We went over to a dorm across from Allen Building to see ourselves on the news. When the police arrived no one was there. They took up their positions to guard the building, and also incurred the anger of the mostly white students who could not imagine why the National Guard had been called out to our campus. The national news reported the takeover and likened it to the now-famous



takeover at Cornell. They announced that it was the first major takeover in a white institution in the South. It was reported that tear gas had been exploded, and that the students ran from the advancing guard, and that the university was in chaos. Administrators moved quickly to secure and shut down the campus. Classes were called off. The Afro-Am Society, individually and as a group, waited for the aftermath.

It came in the form of naming thirteen of the “ringleaders” to be tried for violations of the university’s pickets and protests policy. Ken Pye chaired a committee of faculty and students. Julius Chambers and Ferguson of the NAACP Legal Defense Fund offered to represent us. They listened as we told our stories of what had happened to us since coming to Duke. They prepared us for trial. We would plead *no lo contendere*, no contest. They knew it would be hard to get the thirteen of us off, but they would try. What they didn’t count on was the bond that tied us together as a community of one for that moment in history.

On the day of the trial, every one of the remaining forty-eight surrendered to be tried. All of our parents came to support us. Duke University now had its entire black stu-

dent population, as well as the funding based on the presence of black students on trial. There was serious doubt that the fallout from expelling all of its black students would be negated by the coming fall semester. Our parents listened as Julius chronicled incident after incident of racial discrimination—so brutal and so harsh. Many of them wept openly. Most of them embraced us and supported us. And all of them knew that their children had met their destinies without flinching, and had been ever defiant and undaunted. In choosing to confront Duke, we students had carved a place in history for ourselves. Our enduring legacy would be one of leadership, commitment, extraordinary academic and professional productivity. Indeed, such achievement through struggle and the ensuing myths created would be the stuff of legends. And, on our shoulders would stand generations of black students to complete their unfinished business at Duke.

“We seized the building because we have been negotiating with the Duke administration and faculty for two-and-a-half years. We have no meaningful results. We have exhausted all the so-called proper channels.”

Afro-American Society’s
statement regarding the takeover

One hundred African-American students protested and presented to President Terry Sanford the following demands for the amelioration of their grievances:

1. Departmentalization of the black studies program
2. Increase in the number of black faculty in black studies
3. Increased input of black students in decisions which directly or indirectly affect the black student population at Duke
4. Immediate end to all forms of discrimination by work-study employers
5. The termination of harassment of blacks by campus security officers
6. Replenishment, extension and updating of the Afro-American Studies collection in the library
7. End of the systematic reduction of grants, scholarships, loans, and special programs for black students
8. End to the appointment of black student representatives to "appeasement" committees set up by the administration which identify problems but fail to resolve them
9. Increase in black enrollment
10. Immediate implementation of those demands presented by black students on February 13, 1969 to which the administration has not sufficiently addressed themselves
11. Immediate conference with the administration concerning the above enumerated demands

Chapter 2
Thirtieth Anniversary
Commemorative
Events

AFRICAN-AMERICAN LEGACY



Abele to Zimmerman
**CONTINUING THE TRADITION
OF EXCELLENCE**

*The official logo of the
Thirtieth Anniversary Commemoration*

The Duke University crest embraced with Kente cloth symbolized the inextricable link between the history of the university and the history of the African-American community. The phrase *Abele to Zimmerman* (in reference to Julian Abele, the architect of Duke campus, and to Matthew Zimmerman, who was one of the first two African-American students to enroll in a degree program) represents the wide range of contributions that African Americans have made to the university.

This logo was used for the committee stationery, t-shirts, banners, and flags that were hung throughout West Campus, along Campus Drive, and Chapel Drive. Kente is alive on the Duke campus.

List of Events

JANUARY

- Interrogating Identity Exhibition, Duke University Museum of Art

"The exhibition attempts to 'interrogate' the meaning of the term *black art* as it is applied to the broad range of artistic output by artists of divergent backgrounds and heritages in three historically linked, English-speaking countries: Canada, Great Britain, and the United States."

- The Right Rev. H. Hartford Brookins, Bishop, Second Episcopal District African Methodist Episcopal Church, Washington, D.C., addresses the student body.

FEBRUARY

- Tuskegee Airmen, Mary Lou Williams Center for Black Culture
- Interrogating Identity films "Hair Piece" and "Fade to Black"
- North Carolina International Jazz Festival, vocalist Eve Cornelius and pianist Joanne Brackeen
- Pink Ice, annual semi-formal affair hosted by Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority
- Alexander Rivera, photography exhibit, Mary Lou Williams Center for Black Culture
- The Uptown String Quartet, lecture and performance, Griffith Film Theater
- History of Black Music in America
- Graduate School Informational Meeting
- An Evening of Jazz: Rhapsody in Red, Delta Sigma Theta Sorority
- *The Meeting*, Page Auditorium

MARCH

- Black Comedy Night and Filmfest sponsored by the Black Student Alliance
- Papa Bunko Susso, Griot and Musician, Mary Lou Williams Center for Black Culture
- The Golden Affair, a Salute to African Americans in the Performing Arts, honoring Halle Berry.
- Jesse Jackson, Duke Chapel
- Third Annual Conference of Preparing Minorities for Academic Careers, Bryan Center
- Undergraduate Admissions, Black Student Alliance Festival
- Health Fair, Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority
- North Carolina International Jazz Festival, Ron Jackson, guitar, and Pedro Moreira, tenor saxophone
- Black Business Symposium, Black MBA Organization, Fuqua School
- Second Annual Hurston-James Symposium
- Blondell Commings, choreographer/director
- African Awareness Week, Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority
- Martin Luther King Lecture Series, Divinity School

APRIL

- North Carolina International Jazz Festival, Marcus Roberts, pianist
- 1993 Eric C. Lincoln Ball and Banquet, Kappa Alpha Psi Fraternity
- Reception to Honor Black Graduating Seniors
- Clarence Fountain and the Blind Boys of Alabama, traditional gospel and blues
- Career Conference, Duke University Black Alumni Connection
- Open House, Career Development Center
- Reginaldo Howard Memorial Scholarship Dinner
- Showcase of Campus Performing Artists, Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority

- Black Scholars' Award Ceremonies, Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority

MAY

- Thirtieth Anniversary Commemorative Exhibit, Perkins Library

AUGUST

- Welcoming Reception for the Thirtieth Class of African-American Undergraduates at Duke University.

SEPTEMBER

- Literary Competition for Durham Public School Students
- Thirtieth Anniversary House Course, "Race and Education" begins
- Speaker Series:
Dr. Chuck Stone, "Race, Education, and Images in the Media"
- Thirtieth Anniversary Commemorative Exhibit, Perkins Library

OCTOBER

- Thirtieth Anniversary House Course (continues)
- Speaker Series:
Dr. Murray N. DePillars, "Race, Education, and the Arts"
Chief of Chaplains (Major General) Matthew A. Zimmerman, "Race, Education, and Religion"
Mr. Kenneth Chestnut, "Race, Education, and Business"

NOVEMBER

- Thirtieth Anniversary Commemorative Exhibit, Duke University Hospital, North Division

- Thirtieth Anniversary House Course (continues)
- Speaker Series:
Mr. Don Braden, "Race, Education, and Music"
Rev. Dr. Benjamin Chavis, Jr., "Race, Education, and Economics and Politics"
Dr. Louis W. Sullivan, "Race, Education, and the Health Care System in America"

DECEMBER

- Thirtieth Anniversary House Course (continues)
- Speaker Series:
Professor Lani Guinier, "Race, Education, and the New Civil Rights"

Welcoming Reception



dents to participate in the activities held during this commemorative year. Students received t-shirts with the thirtieth-year official logo. African-American members of the class of 1997 began their undergraduate careers with an awareness of the special place they occupy in the history of the university.

The fall semester of 1993 began with a reception honoring the African-American members of the class of 1997, the thirtieth class of African-American undergraduates to matriculate at Duke. More than eighty percent of the 124 new first-year African-American students attended the reception. President Nannerl Keohane, Provost Thomas Langford, Dean of Arts and Sciences Roy Weintraub, and Chairman of the Duke Endowment and a member of the Duke family Mrs. Mary D.B.T. Semans welcomed the students and their families and challenged them to continue the remarkable legacy of their African-American predecessors at Duke.

University Vice President and Vice Provost Dr. Leonard Beckum and Dr. Brenda Armstrong, '70, encouraged stu-



Thirtieth Anniversary House Course, "Race & Education"

Designed to provide an academic context for the ongoing dialogue about race, Dr. Leonard C. Beckum, university vice president and vice provost, and Dr. Brenda Armstrong, associate professor of pediatrics, cotaught a house course entitled "Race and Education." The semester-long course began on September 8; approximately twenty-five students met each week to discuss race and education in terms of the historical and political context of American society. Students critically reviewed the issues surrounding the education of both majority and minority populations.

The syllabus for the house course deliberately coincided with the Thirtieth Anniversary Speaker Series offered during the fall semester. Distinguished speakers provided students with unique and personal perspectives, discussing the role of race and education as they impacted other areas of society. The following is a list of readings from the class syllabus. Speakers also suggested readings.

Bell, Derrick. *Face at the Bottom of the Well: The Permanence of Racism*. New York: Basic Books, 1992.

Easter, E., Cheers, D. M., and Brooks, D. *Songs of My People, African Americans: A Self Portrait*. Little, Brown, and Co., 1992.

Early, Gerald. *Lure and Loathing: Essays on Race, Identity, and the Ambivalence of Assimilation*. New York: The Penguin Press, 1993.

Kozol, Jonathan. *Savage Inequalities*. New York: The Crown Press, 1991.

Nelson, Jill. *Volunteer Slavery: My Authentic Negro Experience*. Chicago: The Noble Press, Inc., 1993.

Rodriguez, Richard. *Hunger for Memory*. New York: Bantam Books, 1982.

West, Cornel. *Race Matters*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1993.

Williams, Patricia J. *The Alchemy of Race and Rights*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1991.

EXCERPTS FROM STUDENTS' RESPONSES TO THE HOUSE COURSE

"Racism was described [by Major Matthew Zimmerman] as a disease being fed and kept alive by hidden forces which needed the presence of racism to keep people from seeing mankind as a single family. I was challenged by this assertion. . . ."

Nathaniel Turner, '94

"Essentially, it all boils down to an uneven playing field. Institutionalized racism is benefiting the infrastructure and power establishment. Those with political and economic power use race as a divisive issue to their advantage."

Noel Miquiabas, '94

"The lack of an all-encompassing history, the lack of adequate health care, the lack of truly equal and unprejudiced opportunity, the lack of unbiased media input results from America being a country that does not appreciate all that African Americans have done."

LaTarsha Russell, '94

"Education is both the savior and perpetuator of racial injustice in America. Only through education may we overcome the racism that has been woven into our social fabric, yet it is education that has historically maintained these prejudices."

Shawn Reed, '94

"Through this course, we have been exposed to all types of definitions and explanations about the effects of racism on education and vice versa. As a result, I no longer hold such a narrow-minded view about how knowledge is acquired. Instead, I am now aware how educational experiences can surface in a plethora of situations, environments, and contexts."

Sharon Morgan, '94

House-Course Speaker Series

During the fall semester of 1993, the Thirtieth Anniversary Committee was privileged to host a speaker series concerning race and education. We thank the participants for making the endeavor such a success. All speeches were open to the public. Audiotapes of the speeches are available in the Duke University Archives.

DR. CHUCK STONE

Race, Education, and Images in the Media



Walter Spearman Professor, School of Journalism and Mass Communication, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill. Syndicated columnist, political analyst, author, TV commentator, former special assistant to Adam Clayton Powell, Jr.

"Times change, things improve, and yet as I said in my law degree article, history does repeat itself. It is a cyclical

kind of thing. I want to deal with race and education, and images in the media. But also the variations on the theme of white racism, black self-destruction, and national indifference, because those are the three factors that are interacting and impacting upon both experiences I call 'the racial symbiosis.'

"We can no longer attribute all of the ills of the society or all of the ills in the black community to white racism. Sure, it could be a dominant force that controls our society and institutional racism does dominate our activities and

our lives. But what has become a development in the last few years has been a pathology, a social cancer that is destructive of the goodness, integrity, and unity of the black community."

DR. MURRAY N. DEPILLARS

Race, Education, and the Arts



Dean, Professor of Art Education, Virginia Commonwealth University, School of the Arts. Artist, author, consultant, art administrator, member of AFROCOBRA, which formed in Chicago in 1968.

"I want to talk to you a little bit about the history of art, maybe about the group I exhibited with, AFROCOBRA,

and try to decode some slides for you and to impress upon you the importance of African and Afro-American imprint on civilization.

"How many of you have taken art history? What book did you use? Helen Gardner or Jansen? Helen Gardner. We use Helen Gardner at Virginia Commonwealth. It is considered to be the widest-selling art history book in this country and the book states that art began in France with cave paintings dated approximately 13,000 B.C. I think Jansen starts the same way.

"He talks about primitive art, but primitive art doesn't count because primitive art is African art. I'm not trying to be funny; I'll come back and clear it up for you but by and large that is what both Jansen and Gardner will say about the birth of art. That the birth of art began with the rock art at Lasso. Some black and white researchers have discovered some cave paintings in Africa that predates those at Lasso. So the question is whether the quality of the

paintings at Lasso exceed the quality of the paintings, let's say, the Sahara cave paintings, which have been dated at nearer twenty-three to twenty-seven thousand B.C.

I have a slide of a South African cave painting which predates the Sahara painting but I will talk to you a little bit about the movement between West and East Africa because there was a discovery by Keith C. Seele right before the Aswan Dam was opened. He discovered a cemetery called Qustulu at Carso. With that particular find he discovered that there was a black civilization that predated dynasty 0.

MAJOR GENERAL MATTHEW A. ZIMMERMAN

Race, Education, and Religion



Chief of Chaplains, Major General, Department of the United States Army, The Pentagon. Awarded Legion of Merit, Bronze Star Medal, Meritorious Service Medals, recipient of NAACP's Roy Wilkins Meritorious Service Award, South Carolina Black Hall of Fame, Master of Divinity from Duke University, received the Distinguished Alumni Award from Duke Divinity School Alumni Association in October 1991.

guished Alumni Award from Duke Divinity School Alumni Association in October 1991.

"Then, from early slavery times, when it was discovered how easily African Americans could learn, and how eager they were to do so, laws were created and passed forbidding anyone to teach African Americans anything. . . .

"The value that African Americans have placed on education has always been extraordinarily high. . . . Throughout history we would have to conclude that African Americans have sought education in every conceivable manner and at every conceivable level. . . . It seems to me that we

have the consequences, which could be called natural, of a paradigm that probably never should have seen the light of day, the cultural privatization of ethnic groups in America."

KENNETH S. CHESTNUT

Race, Education, and Business



Duke Engineering alumnus, B.S.C.E. '68, president and chief operations officer of H. J. Russell Construction Company, Inc., the largest minority-owned construction company in the nation. Entered Duke in 1964, one year after black undergraduates were admitted to the university for the first time.

"At first I wanted to be a carpenter. I loved

to build. That all changed when I took a mechanical drawing course in high school. I got interested in civil engineering. I considered other schools other than Duke. I was really eager and was enticed to come here by my guidance counselor. It had occurred to me at the time that Duke was not accepting black students. As an engineering student, I found the work to be most challenging. The curriculum was oriented toward design and I liked that and stayed busy. Obviously, from my perception listening to students at the deans council meeting, there is still the perception of a disparity of workload between Trinity students and the engineering students. So that has not changed. We always had more labs and work to do. From a purely technical classroom teaching point of view I found the engineering professors were concerned more about your technical abilities and performance and production

than anything else. The social issues that we dealt with were outside of the engineering or technical classroom. We saw more of that in other areas such as the administration. We saw a transition over my four years here. First, we were glad to be here to the point that we wanted to make a difference. I am reminded that somewhere here I am in a photograph, where we sat in at the president's office to demonstrate our commitment."

DON BRADEN

Race, Education, and Music



Tenor saxophone player, recording artist. CDs: "Wish List," released in May 1993, "The Time is Now," released in 1991.

Don Braden's presentation focused on the role of jazz as a representation of one of the true American contributions to music.

He emphasized the ways in which jazz is able to communicate across racial, ethnic, and cultural boundaries.

REVEREND DR. BENJAMIN CHAVIS

Race, Education, and Economics and Politics



Executive Director, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), graduate of Duke Divinity School, '79.

"The problems of racial discrimination and racial hardship in our community and in our nation demand that we have a new wave of civil rights movement. . . . The more education one acquires, the more responsibility one has to share that

learning to help make a contribution to society, and to open up further doors.

"It was important that I not only was a good student while I was here, but that I took what I learned at Duke and applied to where I was being kept, even behind bars. It wasn't easy being a graduate student and/or being locked up . . . at Hillsborough State Prison. . . .

"I am concerned that, while we've made progress, there are some forces in our society that want to retrench, want to go back . . . want to apologize for the progress we've made rather than pushing forward with more progress. . . .

"I believe that there has been a resurgence of racist mentality, and that racist mentality needs to be challenged, not only in the churches, not only by the NAACP, but it needs to be challenged by great educational institutions like Duke University. If Duke University can't treat its own employees right, how can it commend itself in terms of being an academic leader in a world where the ideal of truth is held high?"

DR. LOUIS W. SULLIVAN

Race, Education, and the Health Care System in America



President, Morehouse School of Medicine, Former U.S. Secretary of Health and Human Services (Bush administration)

Dr. Sullivan's presentation focused on issues related to the proposed health care plan of President and Mrs. Clinton. In addition, he discussed the importance of continued improvement of health

care in black and urban centers and historically black medical training institutions.

PROFESSOR LANI GUINIER

Race, Education, and the New Civil Rights



University of Pennsylvania law professor, authority on civil rights legislation, former candidate for position of U.S. Attorney General.

"One of the reasons that I was committed to pressing forward with confirmation hearings is that I knew a Senate hearing was not just another daytime talk show. Given the controversy my nomination had attracted, a Senate hearing would have

been an unusual, proactive opportunity to turn the attention of the American people to the unfinished agenda of civil rights. That discussion must still occur, if not in a Sen-

ate hearing room, in another form created by those of us who feel deeply about racial justice and equality. And that is why I am grateful that Duke has invited me here to speak, which gives me an opportunity, finally, to speak for myself . . . and to speak at a forum, which I hope is the first of many such forums, in which to discuss the undiscussable, the meaning of race in America.

"Talking about racial bias at home has, for many, become synonymous with advocating revolution. . . . I do not believe that talking about controversial issues is what creates controversy. . . . My nomination had become a metaphor for the state of race relations in America. Remember the policy: Don't ask. Don't tell. Don't pursue. As a country, we are in a state of denial about issues of race and racism. For many politicians and policymakers, the remedy for racism is simply to stop talking about race.

"So I ask you to join me in a national public conversation about race, about justice, and about fundamental fairness. . . . I ask that you join me in changing the policy of 'Don't ask; don't tell' to 'Ask, and we shall tell. We shall speak proudly, and without bitterness. . . but we shall tell.' "

Chapter 3
Profiles of a Few
Alumni, Faculty, and
Administrators



Brenda Armstrong has a long tradition of service and leadership at Duke University. A native of Rocky Mount, North Carolina, Armstrong entered Duke as an undergraduate in 1966. As a founding member and chairperson of the Afro-American Society, Armstrong quickly became a vital force in the struggle for racial equality on campus. She demonstrated her commitment to the cause during the Allen Building Takeover on February 13, 1969. As one of the sixty students stationed inside the Allen Building, Armstrong led her peers in a protest against discriminatory university policies. As a student leader, Brenda Armstrong mobilized African-American students to voice their concerns as a unified body.

As a Duke student, Armstrong pursued a pre-med courseload and graduated with a bachelor of science degree in zoology in 1970. One year later, Armstrong entered St. Louis Medical School and determined that a career as a pediatrician would best combine her love for children and for science. Armstrong's dedication to Duke and the Durham community brought her back to the university

when she began her residency in 1975. As director of the Pediatric Cardiac Catheterization Lab, Armstrong continues to contribute to the university through her research and teaching.

Dr. Armstrong was instrumental in founding the Duke University Black Alumni Connection (DUBAC), and has met with great success in efforts to maintain connections with fellow African-American alumni. She has served on numerous university committees, including the Thirtieth Anniversary Committee. During the fall semester of 1993, Armstrong cotaught a house course focusing on race and education. Brenda Armstrong's presence on campus serves as both a potent reminder of the African-American struggles in the past, and as a harbinger of the daunting challenges that lie ahead for African Americans at Duke.

LEONARD C. BECKUM

When Dr. Beckum was appointed to the post of university vice president and vice provost in 1991, he became the first black officer of Duke University. In addition, he is a professor in the program in education at Duke.

Dr. Beckum received his Ph.D. in psychological studies in education from Stanford in 1973. From 1985 to 1990 Dr. Beckum was dean of the City College School of Education, City University of New York.

His research has focused on cognitive and social psychological factors that influence teaching and learning. Much of this research has focused on the relationship between such factors as learning styles and their influence on the ability to acquire computer programming skills, social psychological influences on cognitive development, and the influence of contextual characteristics of the teaching and learning environment on how teachers teach and students learn. Dr. Beckum has published widely on these topics.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN CHAVIS, JR., M.DIV. '80

As a young boy coming of age in Oxford, North Carolina, Ben Chavis displayed a precocious interest in civil rights activism. By age twelve, Chavis was a card-carrying member of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). Thirty-four years later, Chavis was the youngest director ever appointed to lead the organization.

In 1969, Chavis was the first African American to graduate with a bachelor of science in chemistry from the University of North Carolina at Charlotte. He received a master of divinity degree from Duke University in 1979, and a doctorate in divinity from Howard University in 1981. Chavis did not limit himself solely to NAACP activities, but also has worked on behalf of the Congress on Racial Equality, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees, and the United Church of Christ.

As a field worker for the United Church of Christ's Commission for Racial Justice, Chavis led a protest against segregated schools in Wilmington, North Carolina. When Chavis and the other activists refused to leave town, police accused the group of burning a grocery store and conspiring to shoot a police officer and a firefighter. Members of the "Wilmington Ten" received prison sentences. As the leader of the group, Chavis was handed a prison term of twenty-five to twenty-nine years. The case received international attention when the London branch of Amnesty International listed the group as the first case of political prisoners held in the United States. Governor Jim Hunt of North Carolina eventually reduced the sentences of the Wilmington Ten. Chavis was paroled in December of 1979. The other nine activists were either paroled or released from prison by 1980.

As a commuter from Hillsborough Corrections Center, Chavis entered Duke as a unique divinity school student in 1978. Through a study-release program paid for by the

United Church of Christ, Chavis pursued a master of divinity degree. He quickly gained the respect and admiration of his professors and classmates. Although study-release regulations prohibited Chavis from certain activities, he nevertheless was a deeply committed and involved civil rights activist.

During Jessie Jackson's 1984 presidential campaign Chavis served as the campaign's clergy coordinator. His political career continued as an advisor to President Clinton's transition team on issues of race and the environment.

In 1993, Chavis left his position as executive director of the United Church of Christ's Commission for Racial Justice to become the executive director of the NAACP.

Ben Chavis continues to be an active participant in the Duke community. In December of 1993, Chavis addressed the impact of race and education on economics and politics as part of a lecture series commemorating the thirtieth anniversary of African-American students.

KENNETH CHESTNUT, '68

Born and raised in Wilmington, North Carolina, Mr. Chestnut attended Williston Senior High School. He matriculated at Duke University in the fall of 1964, one year after black undergraduates had gained the right to attend the university. In 1968, he graduated with a bachelor of science degree in civil engineering.

As a student in the School of Engineering, Chestnut found himself in the midst of an all-white environment. Much of his contact and interaction with other African-American students occurred outside of his curricular endeavors. Chestnut was an active participant in civil rights demonstrations, both at Duke and at nearby North Carolina Central University. He was involved in the Afro-American Society and the Allen Building Takeover of 1969.

Shortly after leaving Duke with a B.S.C.E. in 1968, Chestnut was drafted by the United States Army. He served in the

army from 1969 until 1971, spending one year in Vietnam. After completing his brief military career, Mr. Chestnut began to pursue his interest in civil engineering. He worked for the national construction firms of J. A. Jones Construction Co., Inc., and Gilbane Building Co. for a total of thirty-two years. During that time, he progressed from field engineer to project executive. In 1989, Chestnut joined H. J. Russell Construction Co., Inc. The company is the largest minority-owned construction company in the nation, and the fourth largest construction company overall. In 1990, Kenneth Chestnut was named president and chief operations officer of H. J. Russell.

In addition to his position as president and COO of a major corporation, Chestnut has assumed several other responsibilities. He serves on the board of trustees for Oglethorpe University in Atlanta, the board of directors for Glen Castle Constructors, the Construction Advisory Committee for the Southern College of Technology, and the Dean's Council of the School of Engineering at Duke University. Kenneth Chestnut returned to campus in the fall of 1993 to give a lecture entitled "Race, Education, and Business" as part of the house course taught in connection with the thirtieth anniversary commemoration.

SAMUEL DUBOIS COOK

Samuel DuBois Cook was born in 1928 in Griffin, Georgia. In 1944, Cook enrolled at Morehead College, a historically black college in Atlanta, Georgia. He quickly distinguished himself as both a scholar and an athlete. As an undergraduate, Cook received an invitation to Phi Beta Kappa honor society and was awarded all-southern football honors. After graduating from Morehouse in 1948, Cook pursued graduate study through Ohio State University's political science doctoral program. With the completion of a master's degree in 1950 and a doctorate in 1954, Cook began his lifelong career of academic leadership and service.

After two years of service in the United States Army as

a social service specialist, Dr. Cook accepted a faculty position at Southern University in South Carolina. His reputation as an excellent and dedicated instructor quickly spread; he was offered several teaching positions in both large universities and small colleges. He held posts at the University of California, the University of Illinois, Texas Southern University, and Atlanta University. In the fall of 1965, Dr. Cook left his position as chair of the political science department at Atlanta University to become a visiting professor at Duke University. Cook became the first African-American faculty member at Duke University when he was appointed as an associate professor of political science. In 1972, Cook was promoted to full professorship in the Political Science Department and also became the director of undergraduate studies.

As the first African-American faculty member at a prestigious southern university in the late 1960s, Sam Cook faced the challenges of a tumultuous academic community in the midst of profound change. Cook's leadership was sought not only in the classroom or in the faculty lounge, but also around the campus and the medical center. Duke students joined their peers at universities nationwide in the cry for racial justice, and Duke University came alive as an open forum for political and social discussion. Students looked to Dr. Cook as an advisor, a mentor, an advocate, and a friend.

Steadfast in his dedication and convictions, Dr. Cook represented the student interests on several occasions. Cook returned home after the funeral of Morehouse classmate and lifelong friend Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., to find Duke students in the midst of a major protest. The Silent Vigil, which began as a memorial service to Dr. King, developed into a student protest of discriminatory university policies. Dr. Cook spoke to 1,500 vigil attendees on April 10, 1968. Less than one year later, Cook would again demonstrate his support for the causes of African-American students, during the Allen Building Takeover.

In the classroom, Cook challenged and encouraged stu-

dents to grapple with the complexities of contemporary political ideology and American political thought. In 1969, Dr. Cook received the prestigious Outstanding Professor Award. After ten years of service, Cook left Duke to become the president of Dillard University in New Orleans, one of the nation's oldest black universities. Duke has continued to honor Samuel DuBois Cook. He received an honorary doctorate of laws in 1979, and was a university medalist for meritorious service in 1993. Dr. Cook served as a member of the Duke University Board of Trustees from 1981 until 1993.

PHILIP R. COUSIN, SR.

Philip R. Cousin, Sr., was born in Pittston, Pennsylvania, and moved to Florida as a child. He earned his A.B. degree with honors in philosophy and English from Central State University in Wilberforce, Ohio, in 1953. He was then ordained in the ministry of the African Methodist Episcopal Church in 1952. In 1956, Mr. Cousins received a master of divinity degree from Boston University. He then pastored a number of congregations including St. Joseph's A.M.E. Church in Durham from 1965 to 1976. His awards and honors are numerous: He was the first black faculty member of the Divinity School at Duke University (1967–1979); first black from a predominately white denomination to serve as president of the National Council of Churches of Christ; and the first black elected delegate from North Carolina to the Democratic National Convention.

MAUREEN CULLINS, '76

Maureen Cullins came to Duke University as a first-year student in August of 1972. Born in Washington, D.C., and raised in High Point, North Carolina, Cullins attended Bishop McGuinness Memorial High School in Winston Salem, North Carolina.

"As a high school senior I was invited by a number of colleges to weekends for minority students. I went to a few

for the travel, having decided that Hampton Institute was the school for me. In November of 1971 Duke extended an invitation to their weekend. I went and decided to apply. When I told my high school principal, she replied that I could never get in, and if by some fluke I was admitted, I would never graduate—this despite the fact that I was first in my class. As it turned out I was admitted and with a scholarship.

"The environment at Duke was challenging for black students during the 1970s. Even though I had attended a predominately white high school, I had never been called colored, no one was intrigued by my hair, nor had any of the white students complained about my presence in the classroom or dormitory. There were some openly hostile faculty members and administrators. To graduate during that period was a feat. I responded to the tension by participating in the Association of African Students. The association was politically active, addressing such issues as financial aid, black studies department, the classroom environment, and the lack of social support for black students. We presented to then-president Terry Sanford a list of demands that ultimately resulted in the creation of the President's Council on Black Affairs and the Mary Lou Williams Center for Black Culture. In search of woman-centered affinity, I was a founder and first president of Iota Mu chapter of Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority, Inc. at Duke University."

A French and anthropology major, Cullins went on to University of Pennsylvania to pursue a Ph.D. in linguistics. From there she went to work for the secretary of the commonwealth of Pennsylvania, taught English as a second language at the University of Michigan, and worked as a research associate for the Federal Highway Administration. In 1986 Cullins returned to Duke to work in the division of student affairs.

"I found that while many things had changed at the university, quite a bit remained the same. It was disconcerting to hear African-American students echoing the same con-

cerns I had as an undergraduate. And, while Student Affairs had responded institutionally, my colleagues pointed to 'self-segregation' by African-American students as something to be addressed by African-American students, not as a symptom of larger problems at the university. However, the Latino, Asian, and gay and lesbian students were finding a voice, and the university was beginning to consider the value of a diverse community."

In 1993 Cullins was promoted to the position of assistant vice president of student affairs and dean of campus community development. Her responsibilities include administrative oversight for Greek life, the Lesbian, Gay, and Bisexual Life Center, the Community Service Center, the Office of Intercultural Affairs, International House, and the Women's Center. In addition, she sits on several university committees and task forces. Cullins believes that her work supports the university's ongoing commitment to provide a supportive environment for all Duke students.

JOHNNY DAWKINS, '86



In the fall of 1982, Johnny Dawkins left his hometown basketball court at Macklin Catholic High School in Washington, D.C. to wear the no. 24 jersey at Duke University. Dawkins charged into the basketball arena determined to lead his team to victory; he posed a formidable offensive threat to opponents through the 1985-86 season.

During the 1982-83 season, Dawkins earned a place in Duke basketball history as the first freshman to receive the Swett Memorial Trophy, the Blue Devils' most valuable player award. The Atlantic Coast Conference recognized his talent as well, honoring Dawkins with a place on the second all-ACC team. *Sporting News* ranked Dawkins as one of the top five freshmen in the country.

As a sophomore during the 1983-84 season, Dawkins continued to etch his legacy into the record books. His career point total of 1,165 at the end of the season remains as the highest point total for any Duke player in a sophomore year. With an average of 19.4 points per game, Dawkins earned the distinction of second-highest scorer in the ACC. His 272 assists placed Dawkins fifth on the Duke career list. Once again, the Blue Devil earned a position on the second all-ACC team. Dawkins was also selected as an alternate for the 1984 United States Olympic Team.

With a season average of 20.2 points per game, the two-time all-American guard led the Blue Devils to the 1986 NCAA tournament finals. Dawkins finished his Duke career with an all-time record high score of 2,556 career points. As a tribute to Dawkins's four years of athletic excellence, Duke retired his jersey, number 24, in Cameron Indoor Stadium.

After graduating from the university in 1986 with a bachelor of arts degree in political science, Dawkins was the tenth NBA draft pick. He began his professional career with the San Antonio Spurs. After three seasons with the Spurs, Dawkins joined the Philadelphia 76ers. Dawkins was leading the second place 76ers in December of 1990 when a severe knee injury put him on the sidelines. Fol-

lowing a year of physical therapy and rehabilitation, Dawkins returned to the Sixers for the 1991–92 season.

As one of the first prominent black athletes to continue in professional athletics after graduating from Duke, Dawkins holds a distinguished place in the legacy of African-American students. His accomplishments serve as a symbol for the countless contributions of black students to Duke University.

JANET SMITH DICKERSON



Janet Smith Dickerson came to Duke in the summer of 1991 after fifteen years at Swarthmore College. For the last ten years of that period, she served as the dean of the college. She holds the honor of being the first woman and the first African-American vice president of student affairs at Duke. In this position, her purview extends to residential life, psychological counseling, career development, cultural affairs, international-student support, minority affairs, student activities, and volunteer services.

Dickerson grew up in a small town in South Carolina, and went to Western College for Women, now part of Ohio's Miami University. Before beginning her fifteen-

year tenure at Swarthmore, Dickerson taught English and worked as a guidance counselor in Cincinnati high schools. She spent five years at Indiana's Earlham College as associate dean of students and assistant professor of education.

WILLIAM C. TURNER, JR., '70, M.DIV. '74, PH.D '84



For Duke Divinity School professor William C. Turner, who matriculated in 1966, black students' hopes and ambitions were tempered by an unspoken understanding of how to follow the guidelines already in place.

"You have to remember that we grew up in a pre-civil rights era," says Turner. "Our experience was one of segregation: segregated communities, segregated churches, segregated schools. We remember separate water fountains. We remember sitting in the back of the bus. It was American apartheid, and we grew up learning rules of behavior and conduct around that reality. It's hard to describe for someone who wasn't there what an alien world it was."

Despite the alienation Turner never considered leaving, "because there was a pioneering spirit among us. You weren't just doing it for yourself; you were doing it for your parents, your school teachers, and for your commu-

nity. Back home we were celebrities; we were doing something new and revolutionary.

"And you always knew what the rules were. Eventually it became a matter of deciding which rules you were going to follow and which you were going to break. You do that according to your own personal and moral integrity. You break them when you just can't continue with the way things are. And you don't break them when you don't feel like putting up that energy.

"That is something that many people never fully comprehended about [the difference between] segregation and separation. Some things that we've developed—forms of expression and cultural conventions—are things that we as African Americans like [more than the white equivalent]. In many cases, we've never been sold on the superiority of the white culture or the white way of doing things. So you don't break the rules and put out the energy when you are going to like what you get less than what you had. But that was never the issue. The issue was the equality of opportunity; how funds, privileges, and benefits are allocated. . . .

"Even after twenty-five years, I still have the feeling that I'm breaking the rules by being here. My son feels at home here; he can run around the Gardens and go the top of the Chapel and he feels that this place is his. And on one level I feel like that too. But on a deeper level, I know the history of my presence here."

MATTHEW A. ZIMMERMAN, JR., M.DIV. '65

A native of Rock Hill, South Carolina, Zimmerman remained there to graduate from Benedict College with a bachelor of science degree in biology and chemistry. He enrolled at Duke Divinity School as one of the first three African-American students. Zimmerman's acceptance into the master of divinity program at Duke represented the culmination of the divinity school's prolonged efforts to desegregate—Duke Divinity School was the first school at the university to petition the trustees to admit black stu-

dents. Zimmerman entered Duke in the fall of 1962. After receiving his degree from Duke in 1965, Zimmerman was ordained at the National Baptist Convention. He remained in academic communities, serving as a campus minister at Idaho State University and at Morris College in South Carolina. Zimmerman continued his own studies at Long Island University, and earned a second master's degree in guidance counseling.

By 1967, Matthew Zimmerman was ready to begin his military career. Commissioned as a captain and serving as a clergyman, Zimmerman attended the United States Army Command and General Staff College as well as the United States Army War College. His coursework included chaplain officer training, programming, budgeting, and personal management for executives. Zimmerman has continued to rise through the ranks of the armed forces. He has been sworn into the office of United States Army Chief of Chaplains, assuming the rank of major general in 1990.

Zimmerman has not forgotten his time at Duke University and continues to share his leadership and wisdom with the university community. He returned to Duke to deliver the Martin Luther King, Jr., Lectures at the Divinity School in April of 1991, and spoke as part of the "Race and Education" house course during the fall of 1993.

Chapter 4

Where We Are Now

Institutional Policies

EQUAL OPPORTUNITY STATEMENT

Duke University does not discriminate on the basis of race, color, religion, national origin, handicap, veteran status, sexual orientation or preference, sex, or age in the administration of educational policies, admissions policies, financial aid, employment, or any other university program or activity. It admits all qualified students to all the rights, privileges, programs, and activities generally accorded or made available to students.

The Equal Opportunity Policy shall be followed in recruiting, hiring, appointing, and promotion into all academic or nonacademic positions. The university will insure that other personnel actions such as compensation, benefits, transfers, returns from layoff, demotions, terminations; university sponsored training programs; education; tuition assistance; social and recreation programs; and use of university facilities will be administered without discrimination on the bases indicated above.

DUKE VISION

Excerpts from Core Commitments, September 1994 issue

Duke University is committed to providing equal employment and educational opportunities to its employees and students. The university adheres to and supports all federal, state and local legislation and fundamentally supports the proposition that, whether in admissions, the assessment of classroom performance, hiring, or promotion, the university seeks to identify, recognize, and reward individual

abilities without regard to age, race, ethnic background, religion, gender, physical disability, or sexual orientation.

At the same time, Duke University actively encourages diversity in its community, for such diversity not only enriches the education of us all and better equips us for effective citizenship, but also contributes to the University's effectiveness in the larger communities of which we are a part—city, state, nation, and the world.

The fundamental reason for diversifying our faculty and student body is that it will improve the quality of education at Duke. Although some may feel a moral obligation to expand our recruitment of both faculty and students to overcome the effects of past prejudice and disadvantage and to reflect more fully the diversity of our society, the link between diversity and academic quality is compelling in itself. Education depends on learning things you did not know before. This can be done through books of history or lab experiments or works of art or anthropological explorations. But it can also be done by talking to, working alongside, living with, people whose perspectives are quite different from our own. The most powerful learning experiences come when we share the experience of reading history or looking at art or talking about philosophy with people whose geographic or economic backgrounds are unlike our own, people of opposite sex or a different race, who do not take the same things for granted. The multiplier effect of new ideas filtered through several lenses is a powerful way to learn. Duke is committed to enhancing this dimension of academic quality.

ADMISSIONS STATEMENT

Nancy Alston, Duke Undergraduate Admissions

There is no formula for success here and no two experiences are the same. My father once told me that you've got to make your breaks and now I understand what he meant. For me, Duke has been tough, but I know it was the best because it just feels right.

The statement above, written for a brochure, "Duke University: A Diverse Community," perhaps may be just as appropriate for today's student of color at Duke as it was for Monica Reid '87, several years ago. As the university celebrates thirty years of African Americans at Duke, it remains a viable choice for those seeking academic excellence and national reputation. The 150 African Americans in the thirtieth class represents nine percent of the class of '98 from twenty-eight states. There is no typical Duke student, but rather individuals whose academic records reflect promise and success. Located in the Research Triangle area, which has been listed as the best place in the nation to live, Duke University is highly selective, private, and coed. Over 93% of the students live on campus all four years. The university offers in Trinity College a B.A. or B.S. degree and in its school of engineering a B.S. degree. A variety of approaches to liberal arts education can be obtained either through Program I—a more traditional approach to the major, or Program II—a more individualized program of study.

Duke is more than just an academic institution—it is a community in which students live, work, experience, and grow. To this end, students are supported by a variety of organizations and offices that include Black Student Alliance (BSA), which is a strong cultural force and instrument of change. Through its six committees, four cultural groups and auxiliary organizations, the BSA strives to improve the Duke/Durham community.

The Office of Intercultural Affairs assists in the develop-

ment of programs to promote the growth of students of color, undergraduates and post-baccalaureate students. As in the tradition of the Reginaldo Howard Scholarship Fund, the university has benefited from the leadership of several African-American students, including two scholars who served as presidents of the Duke Student Government.

Students of color have met and continue to confront the challenges at Duke whether that be in the form of increased attention to the recruitment of black faculty to participating in the day-to-day routine of student life. Black students have done well with graduate/professional school achievement and securing opportunities in the work force. In the tradition of former presidents Sanford and Brodie, and with new leadership from President Keohane, the university continues to strive to make this a more pluralistic society, one where the meaning and spirit of Duke's motto truly prevails.

African-American Student Life

BLACK STUDENT ALLIANCE

The purpose of the Black Student Alliance (formerly known as the Afro-American Society and the Association of African Students) is to organize and represent Duke's African-American students while simultaneously educating the entire Duke community about African-American culture and heritage. BSA committees comprise of the central, academic affairs, outreach/community relations, programming, publicity, and social committees. *Revelations* is the group's newsletter. Activities of the BSA include a Kwanzaa ceremony, a Halloween party for area children, sponsorship of major speakers, and the BSA invitational weekend for prospective students.

Today the BSA, created by and for the black students at Duke University, continues its role as a cultural force and an instrument of change, as it strives to improve the Duke and Durham communities.

OFFICE OF INTERCULTURAL AFFAIRS

Since its inception in 1969, the Office of Intercultural Affairs (formerly known as The Office of Black Affairs and then the Office of Minority Affairs) has primarily addressed the needs of the African American student population. In 1991, the office began to undergo programmatic and organizational restructuring; the name change went into effect in the spring of 1993. Its goal is to continue to function as a student service component and to offer support services and programs designed to meet the needs of all students of color, undergraduate and graduate. The office provides outreach to students of color to facilitate

rapid involvement within the university community through sponsorship of receptions and seminars with faculty, administrators, and students, mentorship projects, cultural events designed to support and enhance the academic and social awareness of other cultural groups, and conducts institutional research to advance diversity and help create an equitable educational environment for all students at Duke University.

MARY LOU WILLIAMS CENTER FOR BLACK CULTURE



The Mary Lou Williams Center for Black Culture was dedicated in memory of the "great lady of jazz." Since its beginning in 1983 the center has established its significance as the gathering place on campus where broadly based issues of social and cultural relevance are addressed. This effort has been mobilized by such affairs as art exhibits, musical events film series and lectures.

A Duke University artist-in-residence, Mary Lou Williams, always had the knack of being in the right place at the right time. Some of those right places and times include New York in the 1920s, where she played with musicians Fats Waller, Jelly Roll Morton, and Duke Ellington. The

1950s found her in Kansas City among such great Swing Era musicians as Count Basie, Ben Webster, Lester Young, and Andy Kirk. After returning to New York in the 1940s Mary Lou surrounded herself with such Modern Period giants as Thelonious Monk, Bud Powell, Dizzy Gillespie and Charlie Parker.

Coming to Duke University in 1977, Mary Lou Williams found a larger measure of peace and inspiration than perhaps at any other time in her life, mainly through the response of the Duke students who understood the serious nature of her music. She effected this by playing in her hard, truthful, and visionary way.

That her vision would continue, she formed the Mary Lou Williams Foundation, an organization dedicated to the preservation of her music through publishing and the issuance of her recordings. This foundation also encourages the survival of jazz by placing musically gifted children under the direction of jazz musicians.

OTHER AFRICAN-AMERICAN ORGANIZATIONS AT DUKE

African Student Association
Alpha Kappa Alpha
Alpha Phi Alpha
Black Campus Ministries (Fellowship)
Black Graduate and Professional Students
Black Student Alliance
Karamu
Outreach
Prometheus Black
C.A.P.A. (Black Pre-Law Society)
Black Dance
Delta Sigma Theta
Duke NAACP, Collegiate Chapter
Duke University Black Pre-Health Organization
Elimu
Kappa Alpha Psi
Muslim Student Association
Omega Psi Phi
Society of Black Engineers
Spectrum Organization
Student Action with Farm workers (SAF)
Students of the Caribbean Association (SOCA)

Black Faculty Initiative Update

A STRATEGIC PLAN FOR THE BLACK
FACULTY DEVELOPMENT

The Committee on Black Faculty of the Academic Council,
January, 1994

Excerpt

PROGRESS TO DATE

Duke University has not achieved the overall goal set forth by the 1988 BFI of increasing the numbers of black faculty by one in each hiring unit. Specifically, 18 of the 56 hiring units succeeded in adding 25 black faculty members at regular rank. Ten departments in Arts and Sciences, the School of Engineering, the Fuqua School of Business, the School of Law, the Divinity School, and four departments in the School of Medicine successfully recruited black faculty to their ranks. In the five-year period, there has been a loss of 18 black faculty. Fourteen left the university (three by retirement) and four were transferred to non-regular rank or administrative positions within the university resulting in a net gain of only seven black faculty at regular rank.

The Committee on Black Faculty of the Academic Council reviewed the progress of the BFI at the end of the 1993 academic year by providing the numerical and demographic information describing the efforts of hiring units, graduate school departments, and the administrative monitoring of the BFI over the five-year period of resolution. The Committee's conclusions were that the overall goals of the BFI to increase the numbers of black faculty had not been achieved, that serious deficiencies in the nurturing of

young black scholars accelerated the attrition of current black faculty and made recruitment of potential black faculty more difficult, and that monitoring and enforcement of the BFI had been ineffective in promoting the achievement of the goals of the 1988 BFI. The Committee strongly recommended that Duke take a vigorous leadership position in the continued efforts to increase black faculty.

The Committee found one major area of achievement in the past five years. The Graduate School was successful in doubling the number of black doctoral candidates as proposed in the 1988 BFI. There was a commensurate increase in funding for such students from \$293,201 to \$786,730, a 168% increase in funding over the five-year period. A total of 52 black Ph.D. candidates were identified in 19 departments which represented a 160% increase over the five-year period. There remain 27 graduate degree programs with no black graduate students. While the Graduate School has achieved considerable success over the past five years in increasing both the total applicant pool of blacks and other black students, there is still much work to be done. The Committee found that Duke faculty need to assume more active roles in the recruitment and outreach activities of the Graduate School and that the Graduate School faculty itself should take a more active role in the developing mentorship relationships with black graduate students.

The Committee found that monitoring the progress of the 1988 BFI proved more problematic and requires significant strengthening. The 1988 resolution addressed the need for appropriate monitoring of the progress of the directives of the BFI by outlining specific mechanisms for review available to the appropriate academic officers—chairpersons of departments, deans of schools, and ultimately the provost's office—to ensure that good faith efforts were in process to achieve the goals of the BFI. These processes included the requirement that hiring units unable to increase their black faculty submit a review of their

recruitment efforts and file a new recruitment plan with the appropriate dean of their school and with the Provost's office. These hiring units would require approval of their recruitment processes prior to the extension of the invitations for campus visits and contingent on the inclusion of one or more black candidates among the invitees, or upon a demonstration that every effort had been made to identify a black candidate(s) for an available position(s). This selection process was to be reviewed by the Office of Equal Opportunity and approved by the Provost prior to any extension of an offer to other than a black candidate. The Committee concluded however, that more vigorous and continuous efforts are necessary to ensure that monitoring will work.

Afterword

LEONARD C. BECKUM, *University Vice President & Vice Provost
Chair, Thirtieth Anniversary Committee*

These pages serve as an affirmation of the extraordinary ability and potential of African-American students at Duke University. While we acknowledge that this potential has not yet been fully realized, we celebrate the progress that African-American students have made at Duke.

This commemorative year of 1993 has provided time for both introspective reflection and joyful celebration. During the last thirty years Duke University administration and African-American students—each group in its own way—have worked together to change the face of Duke.

The bold decision of the Duke Board of Trustees in 1962 to admit undergraduates in 1963 successfully dispelled the presumption that a southern institution must be a homogenous one and set in motion an inexorable progress.

Duke's African-American students, through defiance, expectation, and commitment, endured hardships to help ensure the continuation of that progress.

Much has changed from the time when the few students were admitted to the university in 1963 to the reception held for the class of 1998 on August 25, 1993. Not only are there many more African-American students attending Duke University, but today twenty-six percent of the undergraduate student body at Duke is composed of students of color. Most Duke alumni, faculty, staff, and students believe that Duke now offers a comprehensive education, one that is appropriate for a global marketplace.

During the last thirty years, African-American students have faced daunting challenges and have left an enduring legacy of pride, faith, and hard work. The university has benefited from the leadership of this diverse student body and has publicly committed itself to diversity as an institutional priority.

It is our hope that this publication will serve as a reminder of the past, a call to awareness about the present, and a prologue to the future.

Appendix A

LIST OF ALL BLACKS WHO RECEIVED UNDERGRADUATE DEGREES AT DUKE

1966

Dr. Anthony Oyewole AB

1967

Dr. Mary M. Harris BS
Ms. Wilhelmina M. Reuben-Cooke AB
Mr. Nathaniel Bradshaw White, Jr. BS

1968

Mr. Kenneth Spaulding Chestnut BSCE
Mrs. Doris W. Grant AB
Mr. Alfred J. Hooks BSME
Mrs. Joyce Hobson Johnson AB

1969

Mr. C. B. Claiborne BSE
Mr. James H. Ebron AB
Mr. Charles W. Hopkins AB
Mrs. Alma M. Jones AB
Mr. Quenlan M. Jones AB
Mr. Stephen J. McLeod BSE
Mrs. Virginia Anderson Oursland BSN
Miss Deborah C. Wilkerson BS
Mr. Jesse T. Wilkins BSE

1970

Dr. Brenda E. Armstrong AB
Mrs. Brenda B. Becton AB
Ms. Josie K. Claiborne AB
Dr. James S. Dorsey AB
Dr. Michael R. Geer BSE
Mrs. Carolyn D. Gregory AB
Mr. Raymond E. Johnson BS
Mr. Robert J. Loftin, Sr. BSE
Mr. James L. McJimpsey AB
Mrs. Beverly J. McNeill AB

Mr. Sandyles Pearson AB
Dr. William Clair Turner, Jr. BSE

1971

Mr. Lucien Angbo Angbo BSE
Mrs. Clara H. Axam AB
Mr. Tony L. Axam AB
Mr. Malvin P. Barnes AB
Dr. Marion L. Blount BSE
Dr. Ernest L. Bonner, Jr. AB
Mr. Leonard L. Brown, Jr. AB
Ms. Thurletta M. Brown AB
Mr. Isaac Byrd BS
Dr. Sundar W. Fleming AB
Mrs. Adrenee Glover Freeman AB
Mrs. Donna A. Harris BSN
Mr. William E. Hubbard BSEE
Mr. Michael J. Leblanc AB
Ms. Catherine W. LeBlanc AB
Mr. Michael R. McBride AB
Dr. Carl I. Mitchell AB
Mr. George O. Phillips AB
Miss Alice L. Sharpe AB
Mr. Larry W. Shelton AB
Ms. Alexis A. Smith AB
Mr. C. Maxie Templeton BS
Mr. Donald N. Williams AB

1972

Miss Oludamilola A. Adegbie BSE
Miss Pheon E. Beal AB
Mr. Robert Brown, Jr. AB
Mr. Vaughn C. Glapion AB
Mrs. David L. Harris BSN
Dr. Robert L. Hines AB
Mrs. Doris L. Hollingsworth-Gray AB

Dr. John L. Hudgins AB
Ms. Cheryl W. James BS
Miss Alethia J. Johnson AB
Mr. Harvey D. Linder AB
Mrs. Harvey D. Linder BSN
Mr. Gerald J. Moore BSE
Dr. Clarence G. Newsome AB
Mr. Walter I. Rogers AB
Miss Cheryl P. Smith AB
Ms. Linda S. Stevens AB
Mr. Linwood E. Stevens, Sr. AB
Mrs. Benjamin J. Stokes AB
Mr. William C. Warner AB
Ms. Daisy E. Weaver AB
Dr. Sharon D. Whitehurst AB
Dr. Doris Terry Williams AB
Mrs. Fred J. Williams AB
Dr. Myrna B. Williams AB
Dr. Robert L. Williams AB
Mr. Theodore R. Williams AB
Mrs. Wilbert E. Williams AB

1973

Mr. Donnel Isadore Bell AB
Mr. Nathaniel James Bethel BSE
Ms. Anita Goodman Bradford AB
Mr. William Francis Bultman III AB
Miss Sandra Rose Dorsey BS
Mrs. Valeria Cole Edwards AB
Mrs. Barbara Gaither-Shockley AB
Ms. Delphine Rollins Garside AB
Ms. Eleanor J. Harrington-Austin AB
Mr. James Robert High, Jr. AB
Mrs. Veronica W. Long AB
Mr. Waldo E. Martin, Jr. AB
Mrs. Elizabeth T. McBride AB

Mr. Wilbert L. Mickens AB
 Dr. Cassandra Felecia Newkirk AB
 Miss Belva Deloris Newsome AB
 Ms. Lynne P. Newsome AB
 Mrs. Gwendolyn S. Parker AB
 Mr. Charles Edward Staten AB
 Mr. Thomas Michael Todd AB
 Dr. Lucia Antoinette Ward-Alexander AB
 Mr. Kenneth Lee Whitehurst AB
 The Honorable Fred J. Williams AB
 Mr. James Edward Williams, Jr. AB

1974

Miss Valerie Ann Bond AB
 Miss Clementine L. Bullock BSN
 Mr. Michael Anthony Cooke AB
 Dr. Gregory Hannibal Crisp BS
 Ms. Marian Allayne De Berry AB
 Mr. Marvin Dale Hursey AB
 Miss Sonya Annette Kirkwood AB
 Ms. Mary Louise McClinton AB
 Mr. Kenneth Bernard Rhinehart BS
 Dr. Carol Denise Spellen BS
 Miss Beverly Christine Starks AB
 Miss Sheila Marie Street AB
 Mr. Calvin Warren AB
 Miss Barbara Ann Westry AB
 Mrs. Patricia H. Wharton AB
 Mrs. Faith E. Whitehurst-Miller AB

1975

Mrs. Shauna Singletary Alami AB
 Mr. Robert Eugene Bell AB
 Mrs. Deloryce P. Bright AB
 Ms. Linda Darnell Childs AB
 Mr. Ernest T. Clark, Jr. AB
 Mr. Reginald J. Clark AB
 Mr. Richard E. Coachman, Jr. AB
 Mr. Michael J. Cromartie BSE
 Mrs. Rachelle Laurice Dennis-Smith AB
 Dr. James M. Douglas, Jr. BS
 Dr. Stephanie Ballentine Ellerbe BS
 Dr. Carolyn A. Evans AB
 Mr. George E. Gadson AB

Mr. Walter Thomas Geer, Jr. BSE
 Mrs. Darlene Mitchell Hoard BS
 Miss Linda Francenia Hooker BS
 Miss Sheila Maria King AB
 Mrs. Brenda H. Lackey AB
 Mrs. Adeyinska Lawson BSE
 Miss Brenda L. Malloy AB
 Ms. Janice L. Mathis AB
 Miss Jacqueline McKinney AB
 Miss Hermione B. McNair BSN
 Ms. Carmita Denise Moreland AB
 Ms. Kathy Elaine Pepper AB
 Ms. Ethel A. Piggee BS
 Mrs. Phylis Harris Ragland BSN
 Dr. Rueben N. Rivers AB
 Mr. Charles H. Shaw, Jr. BS
 Miss Bevelyn Gale Sherrill AB
 Mr. Charles R. Sherwood, Jr. AB
 Ms. Gwendolyn R. Simmons AB
 Ms. Sheryl D. Willert AB
 Dr. Charles W. Williams, Jr. AB
 Ms. Claudia A. Withers AB

1976

Miss Leslie L. Atkinson AB
 Dr. Ezell S. Autrey BS
 Mrs. Adrienne K. Barnhill AB
 Ms. Angela P. Bowser AB
 Mr. Joseph E. Bradshaw, Jr. AB
 Mrs. Iris L. Branch AB
 Mrs. Germaine F. Brewington AB
 Miss Norma M. Brown BSN
 Mr. Lawrence M. Campbell AB
 Mrs. Barbara H. Collins AB
 Mr. Laniel Matthew Crawford AB
 Ms. Maureen D. Cullins AB
 Ms. Sandra A. Dockett BSN
 Ms. Melea Epps AB
 Miss Patricia D. Evans AB
 Rev. George St. A. Ferguson, Sr. AB
 Mr. Darnley M. Forde, Jr. AB
 Lieutenant Debra Denise Gillespie BSN
 Ms. Gloria J. Green AB
 Miss June D. Green AB

Dr. Sherry L. Hall BS
 Mr. Terry D. Harris AB
 Mr. Randolph B. Henderson, Jr. AB
 Mr. Guilford R. Hill AB
 Mr. Keith Maurice Hill BS
 Mr. Willie A. Hodge III AB
 Miss Sandra A. Jackson AB
 Mrs. Brenda Washington Jahns AB
 Mr. Leon M. James AB
 Mr. Timothy S. Johnson AB
 Ms. Deborah D. Kennedy AB
 Dr. Okafor Mang Lekwuwa AB
 Mr. Lorenzo Martinez AB
 Mr. Oscar S. Mayers, Jr. BS
 Ms. Audrey W. McCrary AB
 Mr. Curtis W. Miller AB
 Mr. John Kevin Moore BS
 Gail N. Morgan AB
 Mr. Michael R. Morgan AB
 Mr. George Isaac Moses AB
 Mrs. Donna Chatman Owens BS
 Miss Stephanie G. Ramsey AB
 Ms. Angelene Yvonne Reid AB
 Mrs. Angela Ducker Richardson AB
 Mr. Clemon H. Richardson, Jr. AB
 Mrs. Marilyn Wise Roberts AB
 Miss Vanessa L. Roberts AB
 Mr. Donald Shaw AB
 Mr. Troy Slade AB
 Mr. Benjamin J. Stokes AB
 Mr. Donnie Ray Tuck AB
 Ms. Renee Clarissa Wilder AB
 Ms. Audrey McBath Wilson BSE
 Mrs. Rhonda Reid Winston AB

1977

Ms. Irvonia W. Allen AB
 Mr. Gilbert R. Ayers AB
 Mr. Philippe Ayivor AB
 Mr. Anthony V. Baker AB
 Mr. D. Michael Bennett AB
 Mrs. Trudie P. Bolles AB
 Ms. Pamela D. Brown AB
 Mr. Grover C. Burtney, Jr. AB

Mrs. Valerie R. Calloway BS
 Ms. Winifred Y. Carson AB
 Mr. Anthony Sai-Yuen Chong BSE
 Ms. Loretta King Connor AB
 Dr. Armah Jamale Cooper AB
 Mr. Juan Maurice Corders AB
 Mr. Hairston Crews AB
 Mr. Ruiz M. Cristobal AB
 Ms. Kim Lori Davenport AB
 Mr. Lee Roy Davis AB
 Mr. Allan C. Delaine AB
 Ms. Wanda Bryant Douglas AB
 Mr. Charles Enyinnaya Ekeleme, Jr. BSE
 Mr. Wilbert J. Fletcher, Jr. AB
 Dr. Johnnie Ford AB
 Mr. Whitfield Gaston, Jr. AB
 Ms. Pamela Stanback Glean AB
 Mr. Arthur S. Gore AB
 Ms. Fredessa D. Hamilton AB
 Mr. William Henry Hannon AB
 Mr. George Alexander Harris AB
 Mr. Michael E. Harris BS
 Mr. Mitchell T. Harris BS
 Mr. William Otis Haston, Jr. AB
 Mr. Charles H. Hill, Jr. AB
 Mr. Bradford K. Holland, Jr. AB
 Miss Constance G. Hunter AB
 Miss Deborah C. Jenkins AB
 Mr. Kirk A. Johnson AB
 Mr. Reginald D. Jones AB
 Dr. Yollette Trigg Jones AB
 Ms. Kay Patrice Kindred AB
 Mr. George Anthony Long AB
 Miss Linda D. Lyons AB
 Miss Mary E. Mahoney AB
 Mrs. Carolyn Wimbly Martin AB
 Mr. Nathaniel Earl Martin AB
 Ms. Elzina Von McCants AB
 Mrs. Selena G. Miller AB
 Ms. Doryce E. Moore AB
 Ms. Karen B. Neale AB
 Mrs. Helena G. Nord AB
 Mrs. Vickie B. Ogunlade AB
 Dr. Barry D. Oliver BS
 Mr. James E. Pailin, Jr. AB

Ms. Lorin Peri Palmer AB
 Mr. Philip J. Penn AB
 Ms. Cassandra Gayle Perry AB
 Mr. Joe C. Person AB
 Miss Vickie L. Price AB
 Mrs. Pamela J. Reis BSN
 Ms. Wanda Settles Faily Saleem AB
 Mr. Michael Lloyd Smith AB
 Ms. Robin E. Smith BS
 Mr. Arnett Wayne Strickland BS
 Mr. Daniel B. Taylor III AB
 Miss Wanda R. Tucker AB
 Mrs. Janis Huff Upshaw AB
 Mr. Lawrence V. Upshaw AB
 Miss Jacqueline L. Welch AB
 Mr. Reden R. Williams III AB
 Mr. Charles E. Williamson, Jr. AB
 Mrs. Portia T. Williamson AB
 Miss Sheila D. Witherspoon AB
 Mr. Charles R. Wright, Jr. AB
 Mr. Morrice Young AB

1978

Ms. Josie A. Alexander AB
 Ms. Laree Y. Allston AB
 Ms. Rachael E. Arrington AB
 Mrs. Felicia H. Baptiste AB
 Mr. Michael Barney AB
 Mrs. Jacqueline Davis Belton AB
 Mrs. Krista T. Benjamin AB
 Ms. Avis Toppin Bent AB
 Mr. Arnold R. Blakney AB
 Mr. Wilson Douglas Brame AB
 Dr. Kenneth M. Brantley BS
 Ms. Mildred McNair Brown AB
 Ms. Pamela A. Busby AB
 Mr. Douglas G. Byrd BSE
 Mrs. Christine Powell Cameron BS
 Mrs. Sharon Tapscott Campbell AB
 Mr. R. David Cobbs, Jr. AB
 Ms. Jacqueline L. Coleman AB
 Ms. Lisa D. Cooper AB
 Ms. Stephanie H. Cox AB
 Dr. Lindsey E. Crumlin, Jr. BSE
 Dr. Georgette A. Dent BS

Lieutenant Jacob Dixon III AB
 Dr. Samuel T. Dove AB
 Ms. Paula M. Ellison AB
 Ms. Beverly A. Foster-Bailey AB
 Mr. Willard Otis Freeman AB
 Ms. Vinnetta Golphin-Wilkerson AB
 Mr. Jeffrey Edward Green AB
 Ms. Fern E. Gunn AB
 Ms. Sansa T. Hackney AB
 Ms. Marguerite Michele Hester AB
 Mr. Dawson Horn III AB
 Mr. Peter F. Hurst, Jr. AB
 Dr. Larry G. Johnson BS
 Ms. Phyllis P. Jones AB
 Mr. Robert A. Kusnetz BSE
 Mr. Donald Jerome Leverett BS
 Ms. Felicia Yvette Lewis AB
 Ms. Jewel Denise Logan AB
 Ms. Tamarah Virginia Malval BS
 Mr. Bruce Edwin Mattox AB
 Mrs. Sheila Thurmond Mayers AB
 Mr. James Lawrence Morse, Jr. AB
 Mr. George Anthony Neale AB
 Mrs. Beatrice J. Nealy AB
 Ms. Donna E. Peterson BSE
 Dr. Alton W. Powell III BS
 Mrs. Teresa A. Richardson AB
 Ms. Sonya J. Ross BS
 Mr. Landry C. Smith III AB
 Ms. Frances Melvina Strickland AB
 Dr. Rosita M. Thomas AB
 Mrs. Marcia Brown Tyree AB
 Mr. Douglas Seige Wainer AB
 Mr. John E. Wiley AB
 Mr. Neil G. Williams AB
 Mr. Lonnie A. Wilson AB
 Ms. Rosemary E. Wilson AB
 Ms. Desiree P. Worsley AB
 Ms. Addie Wright AB
 Dr. Gary R. Yates AB

1979

Dr. Gwendolyn D. Alexander AB
 Ms. Rhonda Karin Allen AB
 Mr. Fekadu Asrat BSE

Mrs. Jessica S. Ayivor AB
 Ms. Valerie J. Barnwell BS
 Mr. Sylvanus Garnet Bent, Jr. BSE
 Mr. Brett Erik Chambers AB
 Mr. Earl Lee Cook AB
 Senor Miller Grant Cunningham AB
 Mrs. Ernest C. Davenport AB
 Mr. Ernest Clifford Davenport, Jr. BS
 Mr. Larry Eugene Doby, Jr. AB
 Mr. Robert Louis Durrah, Jr. AB
 Mr. Frank Edward Emory, Jr. AB
 Ms. Ivy Gail Exum AB
 Ms. Paula J. Frederick AB
 Ms. Sandra L. Frederick AB
 Ms. Carol Renae Geer AB
 Ms. Anne-Marie K. Gilfillian BSE
 Ms. Serenna Gillyoly AB
 Ms. Andrea Denise Grant BS
 Ms. Lillian L. Gray AB
 Mrs. Jacqueline Armstrong Great AB
 Mrs. Karen M. Harris AB
 Ms. Rosemary Renita Harris AB
 Mrs. Theresa B. Harris AB
 Ms. Jocelyn E. Henderson BS
 Mr. Michael Miller Holyfield AB
 Mr. Gregory A. Hudgins AB
 Ms. Angela T. Lan AB
 Mrs. Zaiafanice J. Lipscomb AB
 Ms. Catherine Erlene Lyde AB
 Mrs. Lisa Borders Marbury AB
 Dr. Anita Louise Martin BS
 Mr. Derrick Banks Mashore AB
 Ms. Brenda A. Mauss AB
 Mrs. Lynne J. McDavid AB
 Mr. John Dexter McDonald, Sr. AB
 Mr. Carl D. McGee AB
 Ms. Angela Smalley Miller AB
 Mr. Charles P. Monroe AB
 Mr. Harold Lawrence Morrison, Jr. AB
 Mr. Larry Odom AB
 Mr. Ifendu N. Okpan AB
 Mr. Stephen K. Okruw AB
 Mr. Jean Derek Penn AB
 Mr. Dana Ernest Perry AB

Mrs. Darlene J. Porter AB
 Mr. Karren O'Neal Rhem BS
 Ms. Barbara Hobbs Rhodes BSN
 Dr. Clifford R. Seward BS
 Ms. Lahoma Smith AB
 Dr. Duane Thomas Smoot BS
 Ms. Sheila Ann Stamps BS
 Mr. Louis Starks AB
 Ms. Sigrid M. Taylor AB
 Ms. Charita H. Turner AB
 Mr. Ronnie Turner AB
 Dr. Joseph William Weaver, Jr. AB
 Ms. Tarlough Morgan Wiggins AB

1980

Ms. Linda D. Alexander, Esq. AB
 Ms. Stephanie Willette Banks AB
 Ms. Karen Yolanda Bond-Louden AB
 Mr. Marvin Lewis Brown AB
 Ms. Stephanie Smith Brown AB
 Ms. Daryl Alice Browne AB
 Dr. Deena L. Buford AB
 Ms. Rhonda Eileen Butcher AB
 Miss Felicia Marie Cassels AB
 Mr. Cyril Leon Caurthens AB
 Mrs. Teri Delanie Dansby AB
 Mr. Eugene H. Dibble IV AB
 Mr. Stanley Bertram Driskell AB
 Ms. Karen Norma Dunn AB
 Ms. Daphne Denise Duverney AB
 Ms. Millicent Delisa Few AB
 Mr. Byron Lamont Godwin AB
 Dr. Paula G. Gomes AB
 Dr. Battiste Barnwell Grayson BS
 Ms. Karyn Allison Greenfield BS
 Ms. Kendra Yvette Hamilton AB
 Ms. Sharon Marie Henry AB
 Mr. Richard Devois Hunter, Jr. BSE
 Ms. Tonka Hudson Irish AB
 Ms. Jerma Ann Jackson AB
 Ms. Deborah Francine Johnson AB
 Ms. Joia Mishaaron Johnson AB
 Dr. Alfred Lewis Knox, Jr. BS
 Ms. Gabrielle Dominique Lange AB

Mr. Warren Marvin Lankford AB
 Mr. Lyndon Derrick Lewis AB
 Ms. Joan R. McGlockton AB
 Mr. William Howard McGlockton II AB
 Mr. Richard George Murray AB
 Ms. Debbie Cashaw Parks AB
 Ms. Mary Olivia Polk BSE
 Dr. Felicity Araba Quansah BS
 Mr. Gregory Wade Ramsey BSE
 Ms. Tonyia Marie Rawls AB
 Ms. Stephanie R. Reeves AB
 Mr. Ronald Marcus Reid BSE
 Ms. Joni H. Roach AB
 Mrs. Cynthia Cooper Robinson AB
 Mr. Bryan Sylvester Shepherd AB
 Mr. Mark Jeffrey Smalls AB
 Ms. Lucile Patricia Smith AB
 Ms. Deena Annel Spaulding-Penn AB
 Ms. Georgine Wanda Stewart AB
 Mr. Arthur Chester Stowe, Jr. BS
 Ms. Valerie Anita Thompson AB
 Mr. Robert Clifford Vowels, Jr. AB
 Ms. Tina Marie Waddell AB
 Dr. Cheryl Lynn Walker AB
 Mr. Marlon Lebrone Walker BS
 Mr. Wilbert Washington II AB
 Mr. David Maurice Watson AB
 Mrs. Renita M. Williams AB
 Mrs. Sharone F. Williams AB
 Ms. Cheryl Edley Worford AB

1981

Ms. Sharon President Alston AB
 Mr. Wilton Dale Alston BSE
 Ms. Vikki M. S. Andrews AB
 Mr. Eugene Lavon Banks, Jr. AB
 Ms. Joan Theresa Barnes AB
 Mr. Kenneth Royce Barrett AB
 Mr. Stephen George Bond BSE
 Ms. Myrtle Catherine Buchanan AB
 Mr. Eric Charles Bultman AB
 Mr. Larry Chisolm AB
 Mr. Kristopher Allan Coombs BSE
 Ms. Ramona Y. Curbeam BS

Ms. Joan Jennifer Dickerson BS
 Miss Alvita S. Eason AB
 Ms. Margaret Ekwutozia Edozien AB
 Dr. Percita Loren Ellis BSE
 Dr. Thomasena La Roy A Ellison BSE
 Ms. Angela Denise Green AB
 Mr. John David Harrell III AB
 Mr. Dyfied Alexander Harris BS
 Mr. Johnnie Ramseur Hemphill, Jr. AB
 Mrs. Anita Eley Hilson AB
 Dr. Keith Marshall Horton AB
 Mrs. Janice Land Hudson AB
 Ms. Sandra Yvonne Jackson AB
 Mr. Anthony Steven Johnson BSE
 Ms. Frederica Cadelle Johnson AB
 Dr. Larry Nathaniel Johnson BS
 Dr. Lynt Byron Johnson AB
 Mr. Michael Perrin Jones BSE
 Ms. Sandra Jo Jones BS
 Mr. Herschel Bernie Kenney BS
 Mr. Larry Rolando Linney AB
 Mr. Emanuel Alexander Lipscomb, Jr. AB
 Ms. Cornelia Aldrena Mabry AB
 Ms. Andrea Danelle Martin AB
 Dr. Carl Emery McCants BSE
 Mr. Michael Andre McGlockton BSE
 Mr. Mark Adrian McNeil BSE
 Ms. Eydie Germaine Miller-Ellis AB
 Ms. Roseanne Moore BSN
 Ms. Jan Lavonne Murray AB
 Ms. Natalie Cassandra Nicholson BS
 Mrs. Cynthia B. Palmer AB
 Mrs. Cheryl Denise Pappy BSE
 Ms. Debbie Lavette Perry AB
 Mr. James Frederick Pincham AB
 Ms. Anne Marie Powell AB
 Mrs. Phyllis Moore Razeeq AB
 Mrs. Paula J. Saylor-Robinson BS
 Ms. Susan Dianne Simms AB
 Dr. Michael Anthony Smith AB
 Ms. Adrianne Patrice Strickland AB
 Mr. Gary Bernard Strong AB
 Major Denise Sears Taylor AB
 Ms. Nina Regina Tucker BS
 Mr. William Morton White, Jr. AB

1982

Ms. Jennifer Lauren Allen AB
 Ms. Allyson-Jenine Anderson AB
 Captain Jeffrey Louis Artis AB
 Ms. Angela Josette Battle BS
 Ms. Sterlin Monteil Benson AB
 Ms. Joyce Willette Bowling BS
 Mr. Charles Emanuel Bowser AB
 Mr. Dwight Alexander Canada AB
 Mr. Andre Paul Carey AB
 Ms. Donna Maria Coleman BS
 Mr. Keith Eugene Crenshaw AB
 Dr. Angela Faye Crisp BS
 Ms. Rhonda Dee Cunningham AB
 Ms. Kimberly Fawn Delaney AB
 Mr. Atta Panyin Derkyi AB
 Mr. Atta Kakra Derkyi AB
 Mrs. Valerie M. Diamond AB
 Mr. Bryan Keith Fair AB
 Ms. Dawn Denise Frisby AB
 Mr. Augustine Edward Garrett, Jr. BS
 Ms. Cynthia Kay Glover AB
 Ms. Lisha W. Goins AB
 Mr. Reginald Equilla Gordon AB
 Mr. Elton Lewis Grant BS
 Mr. Timothy Randolph Handy AB
 Mr. Arthur Roy Henderson, Jr. AB
 Ms. Kim Matthews Henderson BS
 Ms. Margaret Ann Henderson BS
 Mr. Ralph Emerson Higgs AB
 Lieutenant Howard Chester Hill AB
 Ms. Tera Wanda Hunter AB
 Dr. Paul Bishop Jenkins BS
 Mr. Jeffrey Wayne Johnson AB
 Mr. Cedric Decorris Jones AB
 Mr. Drew Stevens Jones AB
 Mrs. Melanie Davis Jones AB
 Ms. Camilla Chloe Lawson AB
 Ms. Ava Elaine Lias-Booker AB
 Mrs. Angela R. Lucas BS
 Mrs. Cheryl J. Lynch AB
 Mr. O'Laf Sorento Massenburg AB
 Ms. Rosa Lee McDougal BSN
 Mr. James Eric McIver AB
 Ms. Lori A. Miller BS

Mr. Robert Edward Mobley, Jr. AB
 Mr. Carroll Edward Morris, Jr. BSE
 Mr. Lionel William Neptune BSE
 Mr. Ellis Paul Nunery AB
 Mr. Melvin O. Parker AB
 Ms. Stephanie Lynne Pinder BS
 Mr. Marvin Lloyd Shelton BS
 Ms. Kim Marie Smith BS
 Mr. David Allen Snow AB
 Dr. Laddeus Leon Sutton BSE
 Dr. Thaddeus Geron Sutton BSE
 Mr. Dennis Ray Tabron AB
 Mr. Vincent Caldwell Taylor AB
 Mr. Terrence Alan Thomas AB
 Mrs. Royce A. Warrick AB
 Mr. Thomas H. Watkins, Jr. AB
 Dr. Spurgeon Willard Webber III AB
 Mr. Darryl Lawrence Webster AB
 Ms. Vanessa Louise Whiting AB
 Captain Calvin Thomas Wilson II BSE
 Ms. Cynthia Ruth Wood AB
 Ms. Denise Wooldridge BS
 Ms. Deserene Holloway Worsley BS
 Mr. James David Yorker, Jr. AB

1983

Ms. Suzette Armstrong AB
 Mrs. EmmaLee S. Battle AB
 Mr. Joseph Andrew Battle BS
 Mrs. Sonya K. Belliford AB
 Ms. Anna Elizabeth Blackburne AB
 Mr. Gary Alan Brown AB
 Mrs. Marsha Fullard Carr AB
 Mr. Marquette Chester AB
 Mr. Brent Overton Edgar Clinkscale AB
 Ms. Leslie Carol Cohen AB
 Mr. Julian Abele Cook III AB
 Mr. Charles Lorenza Curry, Jr. AB
 Mr. Leon Entea Dantzer, Jr. BS
 Mr. Donovan George Dunkley AB
 Dr. Jacquelyn Dunmore-Griffith BS
 Mr. Mark Mitchell Epperson AB
 Mr. Dallas Foster, Jr. BSE
 Ms. Deidra Gilliard AB
 Ms. Sharon Eva Gramby AB

Mr. Isaac Hughes Green AB
 Ms. Angelia Willette Heughan BSE
 Ms. Rinelda Maraikia Horton BS
 Ms. Terrilyn Renee Howell AB
 Mrs. Hamida Jackson-Little AB
 Ms. Patricia Doreen Jacocks AB
 Ms. Sheila Doreen Jamison AB
 Ms. Terry Marie Johnson BSE
 Dr. Mark McClellan Jones BS
 Mr. Sam Henry Jones, Jr. AB
 Mr. Kenneth Winstead Lewis AB
 Mr. Stanley Yvon Little BSE
 Mr. Edward Lockard AB
 Ms. Karol Page Mack AB
 Ms. Sheila Francine Maith AB
 Ms. Teresa Ann Miller AB
 Ms. Beverly Norwood AB
 Mr. Eric John Parham AB
 Ms. Dorette Ann Robinson AB
 Mr. James Robinson BS
 Ms. Rita Narcissa Sanders BS
 Ms. Michelle Harriet Smith AB
 Mr. Vergil J. Smith AB
 Mr. George Irving Spriggs, Jr. AB
 Mrs. Sylvia Karen Suitt BSN
 Ms. Gena Elyse Taylor BS
 Mrs. Donna Gunter Thomas AB
 Ms. Lynelle Eveleen Thomas BS
 Mr. Glenn Earl Tillery AB
 Mr. Emmett Tilley III AB
 Mr. George Russell Walker, Jr. AB
 Ms. Margo Lewis Walker AB
 Mrs. Wendy Diana Knight Walker AB
 Mr. Michael Anthony Watson AB
 Mr. Troy Kelly Weaver AB
 Mr. Edward Leon White, Jr. AB
 Ms. Paula Jean Young AB
 Mrs. Kathryn Woodbury Zeno AB
 Mr. Randy Rodell Zeno AB

1984

Ms. Sheila Anderson AB
 Ms. Maria Julianna Auzenne AB
 Mr. Michael Ball AB

Dr. Monica H. Barrett BS
 Mr. Derrick Jerome Beech AB
 Mr. Christopher Avery Benjamin AB
 Ms. Carolyn Boatwright AB
 Mrs. Melissa Ann Boone AB
 Ms. Tracy Natasha Bowens AB
 Mr. David Lawrence Bowser AB
 Ms. Monica Lynn Breckenridge AB
 Dr. Colette Karen Brown-Graham BS
 Mrs. Pinetta Jan Bruce-Brookes BSME
 Mr. Amankwah Buansi AB
 Ms. Marquita Monique Carter AB
 Ms. Valarie Cheri Clayborn AB
 Ms. Devonda B. Cobb AB
 Mr. William Edro Cook, Jr. AB
 Mr. Willie Otis Dixon IV AB
 Mr. C. Richard Elam AB
 Mr. Michael Conrad Flood AB
 Mrs. Katrenia Denise Gallashaw-Mack AB
 Mr. Robert Evans Harrington AB
 Mr. William Lucious Hawkins AB
 Ms. Wyounda Veronica Haynes AB
 Dr. Kimberly Michelle Humphrey AB
 Mr. Norman Archer Hunte AB
 Ms. Jocelyn Janine Hunter AB
 Mr. J. Richard Leaman III AB
 Mrs. Portia Elaine Lemons BS
 Mr. Thomas Gene Lightfoot BS
 Mr. John Alexander Long AB
 Mr. Reginald Otto Lyon AB
 Mr. Kenneth Aaron Mack AB
 Ms. Tarshia Angelita McGlockton AB
 Mr. Douglas Eric McNeely AB
 Mrs. Lori Marie McNeely BS
 Mrs. Beatrice Denise Mingo AB
 Mr. Reginald Keith Moore BSE
 Ms. Carol Betina Morris AB
 Ms. Cheryl Angela Perry AB
 Mr. Dwayne Adams Pierce AB
 Mr. Ronald Orlando Sally AB
 Mr. Lansing Charles Scriven AB
 Ms. Mary Stenson Scriven AB
 Mrs. Love Lannette Sechrest BS
 Ms. Saba Shibberu BSE

Ms. Cheryl Denise Smith AB
 Mr. David Roland Smith BSE
 Dr. Karen Linnear Smith BS
 Ms. Monica Renee Smith BS
 Mrs. Debra Moses Stephens AB
 Dr. Emmett Fitzgerald Steward BS
 Mr. Bruce James Sumlin AB
 Ms. Robin Odette Surratt AB
 Ms. Monica Olivia Thompkins AB
 Mrs. Vloria Cheek Thompson AB
 Ms. Yvette Walker AB
 Mr. Fred Douglas McLinton Whitted AB
 Ms. Lori Jones Whitted AB
 Ms. Darlene Denise Wiggins AB
 Ms. Loraine Regina Wiggs AB
 Mr. David Wayne Williams BS
 Ms. Dorothy Jean Wilson AB
 Mr. Gary Josiah Wright BS

1985

Mrs. Elaine E. Alderman AB
 Mr. Ralph Warren Alderman, Jr. AB
 Mr. Michael Decorris Atkinson AB
 Mr. Lester Bernard Bass AB
 Mr. Justin Francis Beckett AB
 Ms. La Shaun Rene Bellamy BS
 Mr. Gregory Blackwell AB
 Ms. Gwendolyn Ann Blount AB
 Ms. Bonita Pearl Boulware AB
 Mr. John Marshall Branion III AB
 Mrs. Nadina Renee Chapman AB
 Mrs. Ursula Yvette Chesney-Graham AB
 Ms. Angela Renee Crowley AB
 Mrs. Elaine B. Curry BS
 Mr. Kevin Allen Dorsey BSE
 Ms. Jerri Ulrica Dunston AB
 Ms. Tracy Lynette Durrah AB
 Mr. Derek Mikoyan Eily AB
 Mr. Mark Eugene Fowler AB
 Mr. Bobby Maurice Glover AB
 Mrs. Pamela M. Green AB
 Mr. Darryl Royce Gwyn BSE
 Ms. Ingrid Joyce Hall BS
 Ms. Maria Catherine Harris AB

Ms. Jacquelyn Michelle Hatch BSE
 Mr. Johnny Antonio Hill BS
 Mr. Spurgeon Roosevelt James, Jr. AB
 Mrs. Marilyn S. Jamison AB
 Mr. Kevin Eugene Jones BSE
 Dr. Lavern Jones BS
 Ms. Alicia Lynnette Latimore BS
 Ms. Shirley Anne Lawson AB
 Mrs. Holly Angela Lewis BS
 Ms. Yolanda Regina Lyons AB
 Mrs. Kathy McKenzie-Mitiku AB
 Mrs. Ernestine Hobbs Mitchell BS
 Ms. Tracey Suzanne Mitchell AB
 Mr. Maurice Frederick Parks BS
 Mr. Anthony Caryl Peebles AB
 Mr. Thomas Reaves AB
 Ms. Rebecca Jean Riley BSE
 Mr. Stoney Allen Scales AB
 Mrs. Songhi Ngala-El Scott BS
 Ms. Mary Frances Sheppard AB
 Mr. Allen Hayes Sullivan AB
 Dr. Jerry Jurgen Taylor AB
 Ms. Ramona L. Taylor AB
 Mr. Anthony Michael Torrence AB
 Ms. Elfreda Olivia Vandiver AB
 Mr. Leslie Tod Van Eyken AB
 Ms. Melvia Lynn Wallace BS
 Dr. Claudia Phennis Weaver AB
 Mr. Jeffrey Kent Wicker AB
 Ms. Tracy Montez Williams AB

1986

Mrs. Donna Marie Abatte BSE
 Mr. Thomas Charles Adams III AB
 Mr. Reginald Donzell Andrews AB
 Ms. Mary Elizabeth Baker BS
 Mrs. Patricia Anne Baker-Simon AB
 Mr. Michael Jesse Battle AB
 Mrs. Helen F. Borten AB
 Ms. Beatrice Yvette Brewwington AB
 Ms. Jacqueline Elaine Brown BSE
 Mr. Lafayette Mario Brown AB
 Ms. Terre Michele Brown AB
 Mr. David Allen Cantrell BS

Mr. Rodney Matand Carroll AB
 Ms. Madelyn Adams Cobb AB
 Mr. Vincent Fitzgerald Crump BS
 Mr. Johnny Earl Dawkins, Jr. AB
 Mrs. Janine W. Dixon BS
 Mrs. Susan M. Dorsey AB
 Dr. Kiara Simone Eily AB
 Ms. Denise Michelle Forte BS
 Ms. Cynthia Denise Fryer AB
 Mr. Sedrick Wayne Gardner AB
 Ms. Arlyse Louise Gaston AB
 Ms. Lisa Adrienne Gladden AB
 Ms. Darlene Hayes AB
 Mr. David McKinley Henderson AB
 Ms. Carole Joan Henry AB
 Dr. Charles Leon Herring, Jr. BS
 Ms. Sonja Michelle Hines AB
 Mr. Darryl Elliot Jackson BS
 Dr. Cynthia Loretta Jones BS
 Dr. Kathy Yolande Jones AB
 Mrs. Monica Scott Juniel AB
 Ms. Michele Leigh Knox BS
 Ms. Sheon Lorraine Ladson AB
 Ms. Charylene Lynne Ledbetter BS
 Dr. Allan Andrew Lewis BS
 Ms. Anita Cautia Arlene Martin AB
 Ms. Kimberly Janine McLarin AB
 Mr. Richard Bernard Moore II AB
 Ms. Susan Abigail Moore AB
 Ms. Karen Yvette Morris AB
 Mr. Kenneth Alonzo Murphy AB
 Ms. Tanya M. Oubre AB
 Mr. Roderick Keith Parker AB
 Dr. Michael Lloyd Parks AB
 Mr. Thornton Fitzgerald Prayer BSE
 Mr. Llevelyn Darryl Rhone BSE
 Mrs. Sandi Haynes Robertson AB
 Mr. Steven Bailey Royster BSE
 Mr. Mark Anthony Rushin AB
 Ms. Kimmerly Ann Scott BSE
 Ms. Kimberly Reenee Shelton AB
 Ms. Karen Patrice Simmons AB
 Ms. Paula Una Simon AB
 Ms. Shelly Trinette Smith AB

Ms. Deirdre Stanley-Christopher AB
 Mr. Max Kenilworth Stokes BS
 Mr. Alfred Stovall, Jr. AB
 Mr. Peter Sebastian Stubbs AB
 Dr. Hemella Lydia Sweatt BS
 Ms. Linda Michele Tatten AB
 Mrs. Tamara L. Taylor AB
 Dr. Douglas Emanuel Thompson BS
 Mr. Marion Dennis Thorpe, Jr. BS
 Mr. Edward Allison Turner AB
 Mr. David Wyman Walker BS
 Mr. George Windell Ward BSE
 Mrs. Iris Theresa Warren-Edmond BS
 Mr. Yelberton Romeo Watkins BS
 Mr. Richard Reese White BSE
 Mr. Gary Norman Wilcox AB
 Mr. Neil Harold Wilcox AB
 Mrs. Shelly B. Williams BSE
 Mr. Weldon Herschel Williams II BSE
 Ms. Charity Suzette Wood BS
 Lieut. (JG) Howard Edward Woods BSE

1987

Ms. Denise Hazel Ann Allen BSE
 Mr. Harold Tommy Amaker AB
 Dr. Tedra Louise Anderson-Brown BS
 Todra Anderson-Lewis BS
 Mr. Damon Barnes, Jr. AB
 Ms. Lois Averil Brown AB
 Dr. Sheila Elaine Brown AB
 Mr. Aaron Eugene Bryant AB
 Mr. Michael Arthur Buckmire BS
 Ms. Carin Astrid Burgess AB
 Ms. Patricia Elaine Campbell BSE
 Mrs. Shena Linette Chambers AB
 Ms. Angela Marie Claybrooks AB
 Ms. Jennifer Bancroft DaSilva AB
 Ms. Jillian Graham Evans AB
 Ms. Lisa Kay Frederick AB
 Mr. Chester Arthur Gee, Jr. AB
 Mr. Julius Coley Grantham, Jr. AB
 Mr. Clifton Douglas Green AB
 Ms. Kimberly Karol Lynne Greene AB
 Mr. Everett Lowell Harper BSE

Ms. Kimberly Ann Hunter AB
 Ms. Donna Lynn Jackson AB
 Mr. David Winston James AB
 Mr. Thomas William Johnson AB
 Mr. Gregory Kennedy Jones BS
 Mr. Anthony Maurice Kelley AB
 Ms. Stacy Denise Kennedy BS
 Mr. Adrian Christopher Lawrence BS
 Mr. Peter Roscoe Lewter, Jr. BS
 Ms. Monica Lynne Mapp AB
 Ms. Gevelyn Romett McCaskill AB
 Ms. Dawn Faye Arrington McClendon AB
 Ms. Leah Camille McCollough AB
 Ms. Faith Miller-Sethi AB
 Mr. Mark Randall Parson AB
 Dr. Anja Altheria Patton AB
 Ms. Vestinia Madonna Polk AB
 Ms. Monica Caroline Reid AB
 Mr. Scott Robert Royster AB
 Dr. Nancy Alicia Sanders BS
 Lieut. Richard Anthony M. Saxton AB
 Mr. Reuben Gabriel Schooler BSE
 Theresa LaVonne Shannon BS
 Mr. David Allan Singleton AB
 Mr. Tracy Allen Smith AB
 Mrs. Vanessa W. Sowell AB
 Dr. Stephanie Renee Stephens BS
 Mr. Brian Christopher Steward AB
 Mr. Nicholas David Thompson BS
 Mr. Tyrone Void AB
 Ms. Monica Lauren Wallace AB
 Mrs. Bernadette B. Ward AB
 Ms. Jacqueline Renee Willis AB
 Ms. Tara Norma Woolfolk AB
 Mrs. Sharon Wright Yarborough BS

1988

Ms. Jennifer Susan Adair AB
 Ms. Robin Cokine Anthony AB
 Dr. Sonya Rae Arnold BS
 Ms. Charlotte Faith Brown BSE
 Ms. Angela Teress Bullard AB
 Mr. William Henry Carr BS
 Mr. Michael Aaron Conway AB
 Ms. Susan Annette Cook AB

Ms. Simone Monique Cutts AB
 Mr. Nicholas Hilary Forde AB
 Ms. Tari Sylvia Gay AB
 Mr. Reginald Gowdy AB
 Mr. Maurice Oliver Green AB
 Ms. Karen Teal Greene BS
 Mr. Amheric Miguel Hall AB
 Mr. John Ceah Hardwick, Jr. AB
 Dr. Kim M. Hoeldtke BS
 Ms. Anndreeze Vermelle Hudson AB
 Mr. Billy Matthew King AB
 Mr. Stanley George Laborde AB
 Mr. Terrence Sedric Laster AB
 Mr. Whittaker Mack III AB
 Ms. Valdasia Shirley Merrick AB
 Mr. Robert Stanley Monk, Jr. AB
 Ms. Karen Yvette Morrison BSE
 Mr. Jason Monroe Murray AB
 Ms. Angelia Portia Nalls AB
 Mr. Ralph S. Parker AB
 Mr. Christopher David Payne AB
 Ms. Kirstie Donnyelle Phillips AB
 Ms. Olivia Raetta Phillips AB
 Mr. Derrick Allen Polk AB
 Mr. Grover Glenn Roque-Jackson IV AB
 Dr. Vernice Royal AB
 Ms. Devy Patterson Russell AB
 Mr. Eric Aurelius Sanders AB
 Mr. Jeffrey Kyle Sands AB
 Mrs. Roni Lauren Seabrook-Iciano AB
 Mr. Marcus Yong Smith AB
 Mr. Brant Eric Stephens AB
 Mr. Kevin Victor Strickland AB
 Mr. Dewayne Keith Terry AB
 Mr. George Eglington Thomas, Jr. AB
 Mrs. Enid Allyn Patterson Wade AB
 Ms. Kecia Patrease Walker BSE
 Mr. Steven Lamar Walker BSE
 Ms. Deatrice Valencia Williams BS

1989

Ms. Jeryl Yvonne Anderson AB
 Mr. Craig Giovanni Bodden BS
 Mr. Gregory Joel Boone AB
 Ms. Joyce Martin Brayboy AB

Ms. Tanita Bright AB
 Ms. Leslie Larissa Bronner BS
 Mr. Kevin Anderson Brooks BSE
 Mr. Stephen Lloyd Buckley AB
 Ms. Sharon Renee Burke AB
 Ms. Raelysa Kymberli Butler AB
 Mr. Emeron Joe Cash, Jr. AB
 Mr. Allan Charles Cave, Jr. AB
 Mr. Wayne Barry Charles AB
 Ms. Tracey Michelle Christopher AB
 Ms. Portia Yvette Clare AB
 Mr. Arthur Francis Clarke, Jr. AB
 Ms. Audra Denise Colclough AB
 Mrs. Deborah Jones Conway AB
 Mr. David Christopher Cousins AB
 Mr. Marc Andre Crayton AB
 Mr. Marc Eugene Curry AB
 Mr. Faris Carnell Dixon, Jr. AB
 Ms. Lori Aretta Dumas AB
 Mr. George Emanuel Edwards II AB
 Mr. Michael David Fincher AB
 Ms. Sherrie Ann Finney AB
 Mr. Carl Anthony Foster II AB
 Mr. Christopher Franklin Foster AB
 Ms. Candice Lynette Frederick AB
 Ms. Martina Monique Garriss-Bingham AB
 Ms. Gayle Denise George AB
 Ms. Shawne Linnette Golson AB
 Ms. Stephanie Bryan Green AB
 Mr. Troy Lee Grigsby, Jr. AB
 Mrs. Titra Gainey Hamilton AB
 Mr. Titus Phillip Heagins AB
 Ms. Helen Sybil Henry BS
 Ms. Markeeta Elizabeth Hicks BS
 Ms. Veronica Renee Hill AB
 Mr. Eugene Clarkston Hines III AB
 Ms. Keshia Renene Holmes AB
 Ms. Tracey Lynne Irvin BSE
 Ms. Sharvette Lathronia Jennings AB
 Ms. Donna Denyse Johnson BS
 Ms. Karen Lanise Jones AB
 Ms. Emmett Ornelia McCaskill AB
 Mrs. Maxine S. McCravy AB
 Mr. John Olden McDonald, Jr. AB
 Ms. Kathy Nicole Meadows AB

Mr. Kevin Morgan Mitchell AB
 Ms. Sonya Denise Newman AB
 Ms. Erika Janetta Norman AB
 Ms. Monica Jane Oliver AB
 Ms. Pamela Alison Pickens AB
 Mr. Dwayne Adams Pierce AB
 Ms. Paula Lynn Puryear AB
 Ms. Kim Astrid Reid AB
 Mr. John Gregory Rhett AB
 Mr. Ali Salim AB
 Mr. Brian Elwin Seward AB
 Mr. Bryan Hughes Simms AB
 Mr. John Franklin Smith, Jr. AB
 Ms. Kimberly Anne Snead AB
 Ms. Emmanuella Souffrant AB
 Ms. Racquel Agnes Stewart AB
 Ms. Rochelle Ann Stewart BS
 Mr. Brandy Marlow Thomas BSE
 Ms. Tiffany Michelle Thomas-Smith AB
 Ms. Yolanda Vanessa Van Horn BS
 Mr. Clifford White AB

1990

Mr. Gordon Brian Anderson BS
 Ms. Jada Bertina Anderson AB
 Mr. Jonathan Baldwin AB
 Mr. Roger Bradley Boone AB
 Mrs. Aileen Marie Tully Bost AB
 Mr. Harold William Bost II AB
 Dr. Ryan Anthony Brown BS
 Mr. Gerald Anthony Cephas BSE
 Ms. Pascale Charlot AB
 Ms. Claudia Rosama Clark AB
 Ms. Debra Kay Coleman BSE
 Mr. Madison Keith Daniel AB
 Mr. Rodney Dickerson AB
 Mr. William Ronald Divers, Jr. BS
 Ms. Mechelle Renee Evans AB
 Ms. Wanda Gail Ferguson AB
 Ms. Stacey Arlene Garrett AB
 Ms. Avril R. Greene AB
 Ms. Karen Lovette Hale AB
 Mr. Vincent Fitzgerald Harris AB
 Ms. Joycelyn Lorraine Harrison AB

Mr. Phillip Terry Henderson AB
 Mr. Winston Elliot Henderson BSE
 Ms. Tamara Annette Howard BS
 Mr. John Douglas Howell AB
 Dr. Jennifer Lynn Hunter BS
 Mr. Don Kevin Johnson AB
 Ms. Adrie Dione Jones BS
 Ms. Antonia Louise Jones AB
 Ms. Cassandra Arlene Jones BSE
 Ms. Paula Alexandra Knox AB
 Ms. Shelley Ann Legall AB
 Mrs. Angelica Davis Lilly BSE
 Ms. Sherri Dionne Lyons AB
 Ms. Jennifer Woodard Mack BS
 Mr. Keith Anthony McAdoo AB
 Mr. Carl William McCalla III AB
 Ms. Camille Allison McFarlane AB
 Mr. Craig Arthur McKinney AB
 Ms. Leslie Carroll Meyers BS
 Mr. Bradley Allen Mobley AB
 Mr. Samuel Dewey Moon, Jr. AB
 Ms. Dawn Colette Murphy AB
 Ms. Lori Michelle Murphy AB
 Ms. Sharon Rena Pittman AB
 Mr. Carmichael Shannon Roberts, Jr. BS
 Mr. Bennie C. Rogers III AB
 Ms. Marsha Lynn Rucker AB
 Mr. Randall Hilary Sally AB
 Mr. Christian Michael Sidney AB
 Ms. Sharon Angela Skyers AB
 Mr. Darryl Eugene Smith AB
 Ms. Koyne Dennee Smith, Esq. AB
 Ms. Sonja Rochelle Spell BS
 Mr. Michael David Summey AB
 Ms. Marcheta Yvette Tabron AB
 Ms. Karin Diana Thompson AB
 Ms. Ranjini Ann Vernugopal BS
 Ms. Angela Evette Weaver AB
 Ms. Karen Michon Weaver AB
 Ms. Sheila Kenyatta White AB
 Ms. Angela Marcene Williams AB
 Mr. Arthur Lee Williams II AB
 Mr. Fonda Portis Williams II AB
 Mr. Rodney O'Neal Williams BS

Mr. Robert Vernon Wilson II AB
 Ms. Hope Elizabeth Wright AB
 Mr. Conrad Kamal Ziyad AB

1991

Mr. Gerry Rever Adams BS
 Mr. Eliard Preston Anderson AB
 Ms. Tonya Lynn Anthony AB
 Ms. Tamara Wenda Ashford AB
 Ms. Michelle Andrina Beaty AB
 Ms. Michelle Angelene Benjamin AB
 Mr. Curtis Lee Bowe III AB
 Ms. Sherri Annette Braden AB
 Mrs. Kimberly Dowell Broadnax AB
 Mr. Lewis Marvin Broadnax III AB
 Mr. Derrick Carl Brown AB
 Ms. Melanie Ladonna Brown BSE
 Dr. Dieter Bruno BS
 Mrs. Licia Michelle Calloway AB
 Mr. Lawrence Edward Cameron BSE
 Mr. Darryl Connie Clements, Jr. AB
 Ms. Salome Nicole Cockern AB
 Mr. William Maurice Cowan AB
 Mr. Eric Leon Creer AB
 Ms. Chanty Denise Davis AB
 Mr. Theodore Curtis M. Edwards II AB
 Mr. Kedrick Nicarlo Eily AB
 Mr. Christopher Thomas Farrington AB
 Ms. Latanya Michelle Ferrell BS
 Ms. Carmen Angela Foster AB
 Ms. Carol Minnette Gibbs BS
 Ms. Eugenia Gayle Goggins AB
 Mr. William Christopher Golden BS
 Mr. Christopher Bryan Greene AB
 Ms. Vanessa Grubbs AB
 Ms. Kayla Miche Hamilton AB
 Ms. Racquel Lafaye Harris AB
 Mr. Rodney Jerome Hooks AB
 Ms. Sonja Lynn Hoskins BSE
 Ms. Carla Michelle Huff BSE
 Mr. James Otis Humphrey, Jr. BSE
 Mr. Herman Nathaniel Johnson, Jr. AB
 Ms. Arnice Neticia Jones AB
 Mr. David William Jones BS

Ms. Melissa Rebecca Kemp AB
 Mr. Joseph Arthur Kennedy AB
 Mr. Oscar Holder King, Jr. AB
 Ms. Phyllis Yvette Lewis AB
 Mr. Timothy Marshall Mank AB
 Ms. Teresa Janel Marshall AB
 Ms. Traci Lynette Maye AB
 Mr. Marc Edward Mays AB
 Mr. Brian Garland McAdoo BS
 Ms. Kimberly Joy McMillon AB
 Mr. Ronald Louis Merrick, Jr. AB
 Ms. Linell Cristina Murphy AB
 Mr. Paul Antoin Nunnally AB
 Ms. Catrell Monique Owens BS
 Ms. Monica Lynn Parker AB
 Ms. Wyndee Riel Parker AB
 Mr. Dexter Vincent Perry AB
 Mr. Charles Alonzo Peters, Jr. BS
 Ms. Jennifer Lynn Pettie AB
 Mr. Erwin Julius Sampson AB
 Mr. Nathaniel Silverthorne, Jr. AB
 Ms. Melanie Regina Stafford BS
 Ms. Tarshia Lorraine Stanley AB
 Ms. Karen Strater BS
 Ms. Sharon Strater BS
 Mrs. Roseyn I. Swann AB
 Mr. Jeffrey Walter Taliaferro AB
 Ms. Traci Elizabeth Teasley AB
 Ms. Buffy Rebekah-Beth Turner AB
 Ms. Pamela Gale Vick AB
 Mr. J. Gilbert Fields Williams III AB
 Mr. Jeremy Demetri Williams AB
 Mr. Marc Julian Williams AB
 Ms. Tara Lynne Williams AB

1992

Mr. Calvin Wade Allen AB
 Ms. Afriye Rochelle Amerson AB
 Ms. Martine Natasha Apollon AB
 Ms. Marilynn Barcus AB
 Ms. Cecilia Suzette Barnes AB
 Ms. Shanna Jeanine Batten AB
 Ms. Meesha Monise Bond BSE
 Ms. Cinnamon Danielle Bradley AB

Ms. Carol Necole Brown AB
 Mr. Christopher Edwin Brown AB
 Ms. Melissa Ilene Brown AB
 Mr. Eric Lee Bryant AB
 Ms. Tracy Lynn Carter BS
 Ms. Judith Fae Chambers AB
 Mr. Eddie Terrence Chavis BSE
 Ms. Tamla-Mae Carmen Clarke BS
 Mr. Milton Antrosdeo Coleman BSE
 Ms. Rhonda Elizabeth Collins AB
 Ms. Lucy Christina Cruell AB
 Mr. James Ray Daniels, Jr. BS
 Mr. Brian Keith Davis AB
 Ms. Angela Nicole Delowell-Smith AB
 Mrs. Elizabeth Smith Deu AB
 Mr. Hassan Abdel Dhouti AB
 Mr. Eric Tyrone Dozier AB
 Mr. Marcus Edward Dyer AB
 Ms. Ursula Monique Edmond BSE
 Mr. Christopher Keith Ewell AB
 Mr. David Conrad Forde AB
 Ms. Alayna A. Gaines AB
 Ms. Erin Leslie Gibson AB
 Ms. Traci Nicole Giles BS
 Ms. Maisha Timiza Gilyard BSE
 Mr. Hamlet Darius Goore AB
 Ms. Heather Monique Grant BS
 Ms. Marie Christina Grant AB
 Ms. Karen Marie Green AB
 Ms. Vimla Elizabeth Gupta AB
 Mr. Garfield Winston Hamilton BSE
 Ms. Angela Denise Harris AB
 Mr. Timothy Derrick Heggans AB
 Ms. Kristin Nicole Henning AB
 Mr. Michael Joseph Hester AB
 Mr. Anthony Keith Hovington AB
 Ms. Candace Yolande Howell BS
 Ms. Regina Nachael Howell AB
 Ms. Kristi Aletheia Hubbard BS
 Ms. Brittany Caroline James AB
 Ms. Aynesh Louise Johnson AB
 Mr. Deollo Jorry Johnson BSE
 Mr. Michael Lebron Jones, Jr. AB
 Mr. Randal Cory Jones BSE

Ms. Tamara Raquel Jones AB
 Mr. Walter Linwood Jones III AB
 Ms. Shanita Gene Lawrence AB
 Mr. Jarvis Tremain Lowndes BSE
 Ms. Malkia Kokuyamba Lydia AB
 Ms. Valecia Denise Maclin BSE
 Mr. Quinton Antione McCracken AB
 Ms. Pamela Yvette McFarland AB
 Ms. Toni Terese Miranda AB
 Mr. Lance Sterling Mitchell AB
 Mr. David Evans Uriel Morris AB
 Ms. LeNelle Maudine Mozell AB
 Ms. Theresa Ann Myers AB
 Ms. Marie Elizabeth Nelson AB
 Ms. Stephanie Andrea Nevels AB
 Ms. Robyn Katy Pretlow AB
 Ms. Tamara Denise Prince AB
 Ms. Tonya Terrell Robinson AB
 Ms. Angel Lee Roddy AB
 Mr. Kenneth Christopher Sands BS
 Mr. M. William Sermons BSE
 Mrs. Valdar Vanora Serrant-Coryat AB
 Ms. Stephanie Denise Sims BS
 Ms. Marietta Sangai Sirleaf AB
 Ms. Maria Alice Smith AB
 Mr. Wyatt Lee Smith AB
 Ms. Jeanine Annette Southerland BS
 Ms. Carla June Spann BSE
 Ms. Patricia Staco AB
 Ms. Cynthia Elaine Staples AB
 Mr. Kelly Stroud, Jr. BSE
 Ms. Phyllisina La Mia Vinson AB
 Ms. Naomi Aleta Walker AB
 Ms. Sharon Lorraine Washington BSE
 Ms. Angela Yvette Watkins BSE
 Ms. Kimberly C. West AB
 Ms. Karyn Nicole Wheat AB
 Mr. Wendell Curtis White AB
 Mr. Mark Bernard Williams BSE
 Ms. Wendi Renee Williams AB
 Ms. Dawn Marie Woolfolk AB

1993

Ms. Lonla Faith Abbott BSE
 Ms. Elspeth Naa Adjeley Ablorh BS
 Ms. Melanee Alise Alexander AB
 Ms. Angela De Neece Alsobrooks AB
 Mr. Kevin Lamont Alston AB
 Ms. Karen Denise Baker AB
 Ms. Andrea Lynn Boyd BS
 Ms. Sonia Michele Braithwaite BS
 Ms. Yolanda Teresa Brown AB
 Mr. Jose David Clay-Flores AB
 Ms. Tamara Evetta Malia Cleveland BSE
 Ms. Erica Darletta Cofield AB
 Ms. Milondra Beth Coleman AB
 Ms. April Dawn Conner AB
 Ms. Jennifer Lynn Cosme AB
 Mr. Christopher Joseph Davis BS
 Ms. Sherida Elvinese Davis AB
 Ms. Teri Jeannine Dobbins AB
 Ms. Kim Donaldson BS
 Mr. Edward Keith Dubose AB
 Ms. Delicia Joanna Dunham AB
 Mr. Pledger Henri Fretwell AB
 Ms. Yolanda Estelle Fuller AB
 Mr. Derek Everet George AB
 Mr. Brian Houston Gilpin AB
 Ms. Amanda Green AB
 Mr. Michael Anthony Green AB
 Ms. Shonnese Devon Guion AB
 Ms. Jacqueline Amanda Harris AB
 Ms. Kimberly Anita Haynes AB
 Mr. Thomas Lionel Hill II AB
 Mr. Rasheed Martin Hinds AB
 Mr. Jonah Corey Hodge AB
 Mr. Dartaganan Lebron Jackson AB
 Mr. Derrick Todd Jackson AB
 Mr. Doniel Lerance Jackson BS
 Mr. Alphonso Johnson, Jr. BSE
 Mr. George Washington Jordan III BSE
 Ms. Chivimbiso Tawayena Kapungu AB
 Ms. Ayana Nsombi Kee BS
 Ms. Lisa Lois Keise BSE
 Ms. Charlene Yvette Kirby BS
 Ms. Tonya Lineare Lacy BS

Ms. Georgine Marie Lamvu BS
 Ms. Michele Jeannine Lee AB
 Mr. Christopher Lavadius McAllister AB
 Ms. Monica McClain AB
 Ms. Lorraine Moira McRae AB
 Mr. Jackie Hodari Merrick BSE
 Mr. Joseph Shawn Miles BS
 Ms. Gloria A. Mshelia BS
 Mr. Bryant Armond Murphy BS
 Mrs. Catrina G. Murphy AB
 Ms. Shannon Denise Norris BS
 Ms. Nwanganga Oziri AB
 Mr. Malcolm Edward Palmer AB
 Mr. James Braxton Peterson II AB
 Mr. Ngai Louis Pindell AB
 Ms. Erna Annette Rose Pinnix AB
 Ms. Kamala Lynn Prince AB
 Ms. Africa Tanya Ragland AB
 Ms. Sherri Letitia Rankin AB
 Mr. Michael Quincy Alan Richardson BS
 Ms. Regina Coleen Sanders AB
 Ms. Shawn Patrice Saunders AB
 Mr. Michael Lee Scott, Jr. AB
 Mr. Bradley Jay Sherrod AB
 Ms. Vanessa Ann Simmons AB
 Ms. Ershela Latrecia Sims BSE
 Mr. Erik Carlton Smith AB
 Mr. Tyrone Clayton Smith AB
 Mr. Darrell Jackson Spells BS
 Ms. Regina Catherine Sutton AB
 Mr. Robert Copeland Swinson, Jr. BSE
 Ms. Petra Len Symister BS
 Ms. Grace Murriyankavunkal Thomas AB
 Mr. Patrick Bruce Thomas AB
 Mr. Tyronne Michael Thomas AB
 Ms. Celena Louise Thompson AB
 Ms. Nicole Lea Thompson BS
 Ms. Sonya Adele Thorpe AB
 Mr. Hardy Vieux AB
 Mr. Torraine Antjuan Williams BS
 Mr. Victor Glenn Williams II BSE
 Ms. Josiane Marie Catherine Wolff BSE
 Ms. Pamela Elaine Woodside BS
 Ms. April Yanik Zeigler AB

1994

Mr. Zaid Abdul-Aleem AB
 Mr. Sanders Larsen Adu AB
 Ms. Nicole Rene Anderson AB
 Mr. Kibwe Joseph Ashton AB
 Ms. Luna Deshawn Bailey BS
 Mr. Robert Baldwin AB
 Ms. Natasha Balinda T. Marie Ball AB
 Ms. Myla DaVinia Barefield AB
 Ms. Ayanna Kafi Barrow AB
 Ms. Erica Renea Berry AB
 Ms. Denise Alisa Blythe AB
 Ms. Tanisha Rochelle Bostick AB
 Mr. Thomas Delma Brock, Jr. AB
 Ms. Franchesca Dawn Brown BS
 Mr. Lavius Martez Burns AB
 Ms. Alexious Michelle Butler AB
 Ms. Nedra Denise Campbell AB
 Ms. Paula Leelanee Coates AB
 Ms. Greta Yvonne Cokley AB
 Mr. Brian Tolson Colbert AB
 Ms. Sana Damali Coleman AB
 Mr. Kareem Abdul Cook AB
 Mr. Cory Lesean Daniels BS
 Ms. Kellie Kenyata Daniels AB
 Ms. Lisa Eugennie Daniels AB
 Mr. Michael Thomas Davenport AB
 Ms. Tanyiki Marie Davenport AB
 Ms. Dilsey Marie Davis BS
 Ms. Kendreia Wynette Dickens BS
 Mr. Nelson Bernard Dorsey, Jr. AB
 Mr. Stanley Kevin Dorsey AB
 Mr. Kenneth Manuel Durham BSE
 Mr. Rodrick Dwayne Edwards AB
 Ms. Lori Briana Epps BS
 Ms. Sandi Germaine Feaster BSE
 Mr. David Andrew Ferguson BSE
 Mr. Kevin Maxwell Ferguson AB
 Ms. Kymberly Nicole Floyd BS
 Mr. Kevin Roderick Free AB
 Mr. Leroy Wendell Gallman, Jr. AB
 Mr. Keith Allen Gill AB
 Ms. Rhonda Simone Gittens AB
 Ms. Monique Tisha Glasford AB

Ms. Dionne Renee Gonder AB
 Ms. Angela Carol Styron Gore BS
 Ms. Dara Anika Green AB
 Ms. Lauren Libran Green AB
 Ms. Tamara Marie Green AB
 Ms. Keasha Danielle Grindley BS
 Ms. Nkenge Maia Gude AB
 Mr. William Hicks Hadnott III AB
 Mr. Richard Lamar Hardon BSE
 Ms. Michelle Leslie Harris AB
 Ms. Tonya Denise Harris BSE
 Mr. Mack Nelson Haynes, Jr. BSE
 Ms. Felicia Annette Henderson AB
 Mr. Clarence Theodore Henry, Jr. AB
 Ms. Erica Michele Henry AB
 Mr. Grant Henry Hill AB
 Mr. Charles Freeman Hogan AB
 Ms. Darriel Michelle Hoy AB
 Ms. Dasha Michelle Jackson AB
 Mr. Antonio Maurice Lang AB
 Mr. Christopher Alan Lee AB
 Ms. Eva Dolores Littman BS
 Mr. Michael Pak Lin Lukela BS
 Mr. Richard Bertram Madden AB
 Mr. Kevin Marlan Maillard AB
 Mr. Duane Laro Marks AB
 Mr. Julian Rolf Martlew AB
 Mr. Christopher Laurence May BS
 Mr. Riche Terrance McKnight AB
 Ms. Traci Danielle McMillian BS
 Ms. Valerie Yvonne McNeil AB
 Ms. Sharon Dee Morgan BS
 Mr. Richard Edward Anthony Morris BSE
 Ms. Kimberley Alexis Nicholls AB
 Ms. Shawntay Tica Nickelson BS
 Ms. Melanie Michelle Pettway AB
 Ms. Marva Vanessa Phillips BS
 Mr. Jeffrey Eric Pierce BS
 Mr. John Pina III AB
 Ms. Karen Rhoberta Piper AB
 Ms. Lois Kathleen Price AB
 Mr. Kevin David Primus AB
 Ms. Tiffani Janelle Pringle AB
 Ms. Nicole Ann Reid BS

Ms. Monica Roberts AB
 Ms. Katina Nicole Robinson AB
 Ms. Tanya L. Rolle AB
 Mr. James Albert Rosemond BSE
 Mr. Alphonso Jermaine Salley AB
 Mr. Charles Dexter Sapp AB
 Ms. Katrina Helene Schwarting AB
 Ms. Anne Rene Sempowski BSE
 Mr. Jamie Alexander Smarr AB
 Ms. Ajiri Ayanna Smith BS
 Ms. Najwa Damali Smith BS
 Ms. Sigma Selena Smith AB
 Ms. Joy Marie Spangler AB
 Ms. Tiffany Monique Speaks AB
 Mr. Robin Jefferson Stanley, Jr. BS
 Ms. Carole Lynn Strickland AB
 Mr. Aaron K. Styer BS
 Ms. Jacqueline Denise Thomas AB
 Mr. Sean Anthony Thomas AB
 Ms. Benetta Yvette Thompson AB
 Ms. Carisa Marice Todman AB
 Ms. Stacy Lynn Torian AB
 Ms. Danielle Marie Tuohy AB
 Mr. Nathaniel Sekou Turner AB
 Ms. Stacey Lynn Walker AB
 Ms. Brigitte Denise Wallace AB
 Mr. Howard John Wesley BSE
 Mr. Timothy Terrell West AB
 Mr. Jeffrey Lamont White AB
 Ms. Ericka Nicole Wilcher AB
 Ms. Kimberly Dawn Wilson AB
 Ms. Kimberly Rochelle Woodard AB
 Ms. Rochelle Lynn Woodbury AB
 Ms. Tremaine Sena Wright AB
 Mr. John William Young III AB

1995

Mr. Oluwatoyin Olanrele Ajose BS
 Ms. Laveria Alexander AB
 Mr. Paul Andre Alleyne BS
 Mr. Frantz E. St. Simeon Alphonse AB
 Mr. Gbolahan Amusa BSE
 Ms. Ladonna Artreese Armour AB
 Ms. Edith Gretchen Arrington AB

Mr. Dion Armand Barrett AB
 Mr. Marc Olivier Bayard AB
 Ms. Armide Bien-Aime AB
 Ms. Kali Chimei Billingslea AB
 Mr. Kenneth L. Blakeney AB
 Ms. Zaukema Neltasha Blanding AB
 Mr. Frederick Gordon Brandyburg BSE
 Ms. Dawn Felita Brewer AB
 Ms. Danette Lorena Bristol AB
 Ms. Yolanda C. Brow AB
 Ms. Clintina Katrese Brown AB
 Mr. Kenneth Bernard Brown AB
 Mr. Talwin James Brunson BSE
 Ms. Thema Simone Bryant AB
 Ms. Lisa Marie Burgess AB
 Mr. Ali Kenyatta Byrd BSE
 Mr. Jason Morris Carey AB
 Mr. Kahlil Bernard Chase BS
 Mr. Frederick Douglass Cheney II AB
 Mr. Michael Edward Coles AB
 Ms. Mary Elizabeth Crockett AB
 Mr. Lafayette Lajaune Crump AB
 Ms. Nechole Davis BSE
 Ms. Nancy Marie Marguerite Denizard AB
 Ms. Sarah Caroline Arrington Dodds AB
 Mr. Richard Dubuisson AB
 Mr. William Henry Edwards, Jr. BS
 Mr. Courtney Rene Fauntleroy AB
 Ms. Christy Donnette Felder BS
 Mr. Sheldon Maurice Francis AB
 Mr. Charles Eugene Gentry BSE
 Ms. Katina Lashaun Gholson AB
 Ms. Kia Lynn Glover AB
 Ms. Tarnisha Antoinette Graves AB
 Ms. Stacey Maya Gray AB
 Mr. Alvin Louis Green, Jr. AB
 Ms. Benita Angenette Gwynn AB
 Mr. Marcus Anthony Hadden AB
 Mr. Christopher David Hall AB
 Ms. Robin Nicole Hamilton AB
 Mr. Rodrick Darnel Hargrave BSE
 Mr. Loren Martin Hart BS
 Ms. Amina Claire Hightower AB
 Ms. Tomeka Michelle Hill BS

Mr. Brian Matthew Hilliard AB
 Mr. Glenn Landry Holland BSE
 Ms. Aileen Marea Dehola Hytmiah AB
 Ms. Jawana Michelle Johnson BS
 Ms. Michelle Dana Jordan BS
 Ms. Vanessa Renita Kelly AB
 Ms. Milele Likivu Kudumu AB
 Mr. John Davis Lewis IV AB
 Ms. Omorotimi Tabitha Lewis AB
 Mr. Christopher Michael Little AB
 Ms. Ayanna Njeri Littrean BS
 Mr. David Robert Lowman BS
 Ms. Caroline Belle Marshall BS
 Mr. Bebvon Kuwait Martin BS
 Ms. Tamara Louette Mathis AB
 Ms. Tamarra Dion Matthews AB
 Ms. Shavonna Monique Maxwell AB
 Mr. William Walter May BSE
 Ms. Chanda Renee Mayo AB
 Ms. Valecia Montaye McDowell AB
 Ms. Lisa Lavonne McKinnie AB
 Mr. Brian Patrick McLaughlin AB
 Ms. Tamara Joy McRae BS
 Ms. Jewel Danielle Montgomery BS
 Mr. Joel Radell Kenyatta Moody BSE
 Ms. Miriam Athalia Moore AB
 Ms. Taralee Victoria Morgan AB
 Mr. Raymond Earl Morton III AB
 Ms. Pegiohngy Lindrea Moses AB
 Ms. Chandra Monique Mosley AB
 Mr. Albert Murray III BSE
 Mr. Uche Stanley Osuji BSE
 Ms. Nicole Eugenia Owens AB
 Ms. Kai Ayana Pittman AB
 Mr. Xavier Marcell Purefoy BS
 Ms. Tivika Latisha Reed AB
 Ms. Kimberly Anne Reid AB
 Ms. Alecia Marian Rideau BS
 Ms. Tameka L. Rolle AB
 Mr. Dejanero Marquise Rucker AB
 Ms. Latarsha Aline Russell AB
 Mr. Tremaine Ansel Sayles AB
 Ms. Minka Latrice Schofield BS
 Ms. Ameerah Sharif AB

Ms. Dannette Sharmaine Sharpley AB
 Mr. Michael Gregory Sherman BSE
 Ms. Shameka Lynn Stewart AB
 Mr. Brian Norman Streams AB
 Mr. Mark Allen Streams AB
 Mr. Martiez Johannes Taylor AB
 Mr. Claude Jenkins Tellis, Jr. AB
 Mr. Charles William Thomas, Jr. AB
 Ms. Lashonda Elizabeth Thorpe BS
 Ms. Robin Lanette Turner AB
 Ms. Beverly Christina Tyler BSE
 Mr. Nicholas Antonio Tynes AB
 Mr. Damon Kershaw Wallace AB
 Ms. Lyntonya Michelle Waring AB
 Mr. Abram Lawrence Wehmiller AB
 Mr. Sidney Eugene Wells BSE
 Mr. Corey Thomas Williams BSE
 Mr. Jason Todd Williams AB
 Ms. Vida Christy Williams AB
 Mr. Gil Eric Winters AB
 Ms. Diana Bernice Woods AB
 Ms. Katrina Lyn Worsley AB
 Mr. Marion Edward Wright BS
 Mr. Linnie Lee Young, Jr. AB
 Ms. Hishalah Zvulon BS

Appendix B

LIST OF ALL BLACKS WHO RECEIVED GRADUATE DEGREES AT DUKE

1964

Mr. Walter T. Johnson, Jr. JD
Mr. David Robinson II LLB

1965

Chaplain Matthew A. Zimmerman, Jr.
MDIV

1966

Mr. Eric C. Michaux LLB
Colonel Sylvester L. Shannon BD

1967

Mrs. Annie Ruth Bullock MED
Rev. Larnie G. Horton MDIV
Dr. W. Delano Meriwether MD
Mrs. Catherine Gibson Taylor MAT

1968

Mr. Prentiss L. Harrison CERT
Mr. James L. Hatcher JD
Mr. Nathaniel Knox MAT
Dr. Anthony Oyewole AM
Dr. Marian L. Vick EDD

1969

Mr. Charles L. Becton JD
Dr. Ernest Bernard Eason CERT
Dr. Eddie L. Hoover MD
Mr. Clarence L. Ledbetter JD

1970

Dr. Annette Kennedy Brock MED
Dr. Willa Coward Bryant EDD
Ms. Joyce Ann Clayton Nichols CERT
Dr. Anthony Oyewole Ph.D.

Dr. Odell R Reuben Ph.D.
Mr. Roger G. Thurston III JD

1971

Mr. Lewis Bernard Hopson CERT
Mr. Ernest E. Ratliff LLB
Dr. John A. Walker MD
Mr. Harold G. Wallace BD

1972

Mr. Adrian Bernard Boone CERT
Ms. Gloria Clemens CERT
Mr. James H. Ebron JD
Mrs. Sandra Doles Farrington CERT
Mrs. Jacqueline Ellanoa Hall MA
Mr. Samuel Alfonso Herring CERT
Mr. Amos T. Mills III JD
Mrs. Elnora J. Shields MED
Dr. Jean Gaillard Spaulding MD

1973

Mr. Kenny Washington Armstrong JD
Mr. Tony L. Axaam JD
Dr. Collins E. Baber MD
Mr. Daniel Terry Blue, Jr. JD
Mr. John J. Davis CERT
Mr. Earl Vester Echard CERT
Mr. Eddie Lee Ganaway MA
Mr. Percy Elmer Golson CERT
Dr. Charles Lee Helton MDIV
Mr. William Emmett Hill JD
Mr. Clarence Dupre Jones III AM
Mr. Eugene Victor A. Maafo AM
Mr. Marvin Patterson MBA
Ms. Frances Lonnette Williams MED
Rev. Earl Wilson, Jr. MDIV
Dr. Joanne P. Wilson MD

1974

Dr. Larry Barnes MD
Mrs. Brenda B. Becton JD
Dr. Curtis Lee Bowe, Jr. BHS
Ms. Evelyn Omega Cannon JD
Mr. Curtis Lynn Collier JD
Dr. James S. Dorsey MD
Chaplain John Michael Guest MDIV
Dr. Harris M. Heath Ph.D.
Colonel Louis Myles Jackson, Sr. AM
Mr. Mose Alphonso Jennings CERT
Mr. Herb Proctor Massie JD
Mrs. Jacqueline Kaalund Mburu MED
Dr. Gary Francis Newkirk Ph.D.
Dr. Olaogun Oyekola Ogunsola AM
Dr. Joseph C. Settle EDD
Mr. Larry W. Shelton JD
The Honorable Karen Bethea Shields JD
Dr. Kermit O. Simrel, Jr. MD
Dr. William Clair Turner, Jr. MDIV
Mr. James A. Wall, Sr. MHA
Dr. Lucia Antoinette Ward-Alexander
MED
Dr. Jerry William Wiley MD
Dr. Linda R. Williams MD
Dr. Michael Victor Yancey MD

1975

Dr. Brenda B. Abdelrasoul AM
Dr. Joan Brown Adams MD
Dr. Marion Boothe Amory MED
Mr. Paul Cornelious Bland JD
Dr. Ernest L. Bonner, Jr. MD
Mrs. Martina L. Bradford JD
Dr. Albert S. Broussard AM
Dr. John W. Chambers, Jr. MD

Dr. Linda Ann Clayton MD
 Mr. Laurence D. Colbert JD
 Dr. Arnett Coleman MD
 The Honorable Allyson Kay Duncan JD
 Dr. Richard Alan Fields MD
 Dr. Cynthia G. Fleming AM
 Dr. James Rapheal Gavin III MD
 Dr. Michael R. Geer MD
 Rev. Fletcher Edward Harris, Sr. MDIV
 Dr. Alphine Wade Jefferson AM
 Bishop Joseph Johnson MDIV
 Mr. Morris W. Johnson, Jr. MED
 Mr. William H. Johnson JD
 Ms. Eleanor J. Lauderdale JD
 Dr. Jasper Jones Lawson AM
 Mrs. Elizabeth T. McBride MS
 Mr. Stephen J. McLeod MBA
 Dr. Marvin Louis Morgan MDIV
 Dr. Clarence G. Newsome MDIV
 Ms. Lynne P. Newsome MED
 Dr. Olaogun Oyekola Ogunsola Ph.D.
 Miss Cheryl P. Smith JD
 Mr. Samuel P. Stafford II JD
 Dr. Edward Louis Treadwell MD
 Ms. Gloria Alyce Wheatley AM
 Dr. Robert L. Williams MD

1976

Chaplain Johnny Lee Adams MDIV
 Mr. Allard Albert Allston III JD
 Miss Barbara Ruth Arnwine JD
 Rev. Michael Anthony Battle, Sr. MDIV
 Rev. Yvonne Beasley MDIV
 Rev. John J. Borens MDIV
 Rev. Andrew W. Brown, Jr. MDIV
 Miss Marie A. Burris BHS
 Mr. Willie Eugene Butler MDIV
 Ms. Linda Susan Cameron AM
 Mr. Nathaniel Cameron BHS
 Ms. Evelyn Omega Cannon LLM
 Mr. Wayne Everitt Crumwell JD
 Rev. Melvin Dean Cutler MDIV
 Dr. Michael W. Dae MD
 Dr. Marsha Jean Darling AM
 Mr. Paul Bradford Eaglin JD

Mr. Lonnie Eugene Edmonson, Jr. MDIV
 Mr. Lonzy F. Edwards JD
 Mr. Glenn Mitchell Embree JD
 Ms. Yvonne Mims Evans JD
 Mr. Ralph Bernard Everett JD
 Mr. Ronald Llewellyn Flowers BHS
 Mr. James Carl Harrison MBA
 Mr. Gregory Theodore Headen MDIV
 Miss Marion Jacqueline Henry MBA
 Rev. Alvin Oneal Jackson MDIV
 Mrs. Marion White Jervay JD
 Mrs. Shirl Felisca Leverett MED
 Mr. Edward Earl Lewis MBA
 Rev. Archie Doyster Logan, Jr. THM
 Mr. Kenneth L. Marshall JD
 Mr. Johnnie William Mask, Jr. JD
 Mr. Wilbert L. Mickens MDIV
 Mrs. Sadye J. Milton MDIV
 Mrs. Cynthia Denise Mullen MSN
 Mr. William Devero Peterson MBA
 Mrs. Wanza Stiles Russell MS
 Dr. Lelia Louise Vickers Ph.D.
 Dr. Willie Roscoe Whitaker MD
 Dr. Mary Bowman Williams BHS
 Dr. Bernice Holley Willis Ph.D.
 Dr. Gerald Milton Woods MD
 Mr. Frank Hugh Wright, Jr. BHS
 Ms. Linda Claudette Wright AM
 Mr. Gerald Eugene Young MBA

1977

Mr. Robert Lee Branch BHS
 Rev. Edward S. Brightman, Sr. THM
 Ms. Brenda Carol Brisbon JD
 Dr. Albert S. Broussard Ph.D.
 Rev. Eric N. Chavis MDIV
 Mr. Charles Bernard Davis MED
 Mr. Richard C. Dickinson JD
 Rev. Neria Goldston Edwards MDIV
 Dr. Elaine Regenia Ferguson MD
 Dr. Cynthia G. Fleming Ph.D.
 Dr. Sundar W. Fleming Ph.D.
 Dr. Henry James Hardy MD
 Dr. Larry C. Harris MD
 Ms. Mary A. Hawkins MM

Rev. Alonzo Clark Jenkins MDIV
 Dr. Vergel L. Lattimore III MDIV
 Mr. Milton Lewis MDIV
 Miss Janice Lorene Mills JD
 Rev. Ervin Eugene Milton MDIV
 Rev. Kenneth Monroe MDIV
 Mrs. Rosalia G. Parker JD
 Rev. Lawrence L. Reddick III MDIV
 Rev. Albert Shuler MDIV
 Mr. Geoffrey H. Simmons JD
 Miss Margaret Rose Simmons BHS
 Dr. S. Dallas Simmons Ph.D.
 Dr. Alvin Tyrone Simpson MRE
 Dr. William M. Southerland Ph.D.
 Dr. Cleon Franklyn Thompson Ph.D.
 Dr. Price Walker, Jr. MD
 Dr. Bertram E. Walls MD
 Ms. Myra Elaine Washington AM
 Mr. Will Wiggins MS
 Dr. Roy J. Williams, Jr. MD
 Dr. George C. Wright Ph.D.

1978

Mr. Lovest T. Alexander, Jr. BHS
 Rev. Fremont F. Anderson, Jr. MDIV
 Ms. Patsy Anne Anthony MS
 Mr. Nicholas Kwaku Asare MHA
 Dr. Donna Johanna Benson MA
 Rev. John J. Borens THM
 Ms. Linda Denese Briggs-Milteer MRE
 Dr. Jonca Camille Bull MD
 Mr. Reginald J. Clark JD
 Ms. Denise Renee Driver MA
 Rev. Neria Goldston Edwards THM
 Mr. Russell W. Hawkins, Jr. MF
 Dr. Melvin Lee Henderson MD
 Dr. Yollette Trigg Jones MA
 Ms. Clare Frances Jupiter JD
 Mr. Leonard V. Lassiter, Jr. MDIV
 Dr. Caroline Louise Lattimore Ph.D.
 Ms. Norvator Amanda Lawson AHC
 Mr. William Leroy Lee MDIV
 Dr. Jumanne Abdallah Maghembe MF
 Mr. James Nunn McGuffey MM
 Mr. Thurman Conrad McLean MDIV

Rev. Willie L. Middlebrooks, Jr. MDIV
 Mr. Carlton H. Morse, Jr. JD
 Rev. Charles Edward Moss MDIV
 Mr. Clyde T. Nelson MDIV
 Dr. George Phillips, Jr. MD
 Dr. Charles W. Plummer MD
 Ms. Hallie Lawson Reeves MDIV
 Dr. Alfred Mack Roberts MD
 Dr. John W. Ross MD
 Dr. Michael W. Shannon MD
 Mr. Bye-Mass Max Taal MF
 Mr. Benjamin Frederick Tandy MDIV
 Rev. Victoria Sizemore Tandy MDIV
 Dr. Lynn H. Thomas MD
 Ms. Karen Jackson Vaughn JD
 Dr. George H Williams EDD
 Dr. Eugene Edward Wright, Jr. MD

1979

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1980

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1981

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1982

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1983

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1984

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1985

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1987

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 Ms. Donna Maria Coleman MA
 Mr. Donald Ray Dixon MBA
 Dr. Roderick E. Edmond MD
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 Rev. Raymond Wayne Hargrove MDIV
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 Rev. Leonzo Daniel Lynch MDIV
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 Ms. Kara Watkins Tillman MBA
 Dr. Janet Marie Whidby Ph.D.
 Mr. Edward Leon White, Jr. MBA
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1988

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 Chaplain Jarvis Eric Bailey MDIV
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 Ms. Ida Johnson Dawson BHS
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 Rev. Earlston Eugene De Silva MDIV
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 Dr. Jill Allison Foster MD
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 Mr. Charles T. Geoffre Francis JD
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 Mr. Kodwo Pere Gharthey-Tagoe JD
 Dr. Robert Alexander Wilson Grant Ph.D.
 Mr. Jerron Denard Green MBA
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1989

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1990

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1992

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From the Hope Valley Protest and the Allen Building Takeover to the Black Faculty Initiative, the history of African Americans on the Duke campus has been punctuated by reminders that the struggle for justice is far from complete. These events were a stimulus for many of the university's most difficult, yet most necessary, changes.

—Nannerl O. Keohane, *President*

At some point along the way, the more serious academics at Duke and elsewhere began to realize that the exclusion of African Americans solely on the basis of race was not only specious and anti-intellectual but contrary to the very principles on which the university was founded.

—John Hope Franklin, *Professor Emeritus*



When I arrived at Duke in 1959, many faculty, administrators, and students felt that as a private university Duke should be exempt from the legal directives of the 1954 decision [*Brown v. Board of Education*]. . . . Consequently, it was to take eight years of discussion, debate, and research to produce the 1961–62 trustee resolutions integrating the student body.

—Jack J. Preiss, *Professor Emeritus*

Let us look upon the thirtieth anniversary not merely as a self-congratulatory event, but as an opportunity to pause—to evaluate the successes and accomplishments of the past, and to envision the future.

—Leonard C. Beckum, *University Vice President & Vice Provost
Chair, Thirtieth Anniversary Committee*



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